



MAHARASHTRA IN THE AGE OF SHIVAJI

1630-80

A STUDY OF ECONOMIC LIFE

By

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Mire. Residents of the village.

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GLOSSARY

MAP

— P R E F A C E —

The present thesis considers with the help of mostly the published material, the economic aspect of Maratha history, which so far has not received its due share of attention.

Of the early attempts in this field mention must be made of Dr. Sen's, "Administrative System of the Marathas" published in the year 1923. His main sources of information were some volumes of 'Marāthānchya Itihāsāchi Sādhane' edited by Rajwade, Sahasrad's 'Life of Shivaji', Wad's Diaries and certain miscellaneous articles published in the Journals of the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal and the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Dr. Balkrishna also deals with some aspects of economic life in the fourth volume of his book "Shivaji the Great". Sir Jadunath Sarkar and C.V.Vaidya give some information on economic conditions in their works on this period. Stray articles written by V.G.Kale, G.H.Khare, S.N.Joshi, D.V.Kale, V.T.Gune, S.V.Avalaskar and others also describe some aspects of economy of Maharashtra.

A recent volume, "Shivarajya and Shivakal" by V.K.Bhave is more or less descriptive and adds hardly anything to what Dr. Sen, Dr. Balkrishna and others had already said.

I am deeply indebted to them all for their pioneering work.

In the present thesis an attempt has been made to present a complete picture of conditions of economic life in Maharashtra in the light of all the material published so far. The earlier material as well as the new material which has come to light since then has been studied and analysed carefully. The eleven volumes of Shivacharitra

Sahitya published by the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, the relevant volumes of the Marathanchya Itihasachi Sadhane edited by Rajawade, English Factory Records, Travellers' accounts, Reports, the Journals of the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, as well as literary sources have been used to a greater extent in this work than ever before. Some unpublished papers which were kindly lent to me by Shri.G.H.Khare have been consulted.

Chapter I deals with the scope of the subject and examines the sources used in this study.

Chapter II presents a picture of economic life of the village in Maharashtra. It deals with the perquisites enjoyed by the different hereditary officials, the part played by the cultivators and the village artisans in building the village economy.

Chapter III, which is a continuation of Chapter II discusses the problem of ownership of land.

Chapter IV describes the agricultural operations and their hazards in detail. The equipment of the cultivator, the dangers to agriculture, work of the seasons the crops produced, return of the year, irrigation facilities are all studied here. It also describes the great famine of 1629-30 with the help of literary sources such as the works of Parmanand, Ramdas, Tukaram and Mahipati. This description fills in several gaps in Moreland's work "From Akbar to Aurangzeb".

Chapter V considers the various sources of revenue of the State. The various sources of revenue have been analysed and classified properly thus bringing the study of the subject a little further than where Dr. Sen left it. It should be remembered that Dr. Sen was primarily interested in this work in making the material in Marathi available to

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readers in English.

Chapter VI continues the study of income began in Chapter V. It deals with mainly land revenue, studying survey of land, principles of assessment, the rates charged, collection of land revenue, methods adopted against corruption and steps taken for the encouragement of agriculture.

Chapter VII considers the problem of Public Expenditure. The heads of expenditure are determined first and the material available then is properly classified.

Chapter VIII deals with "Population". On the basis of the strength of Shivaji's army, the house-tax, the number of holdings in a village and the fees received by the Brahmins, an attempt has been made to present estimates of the village and town population.

Chapter IX describes the village occupations, means of transport and communications, principal trading and industrial centres, articles of trade, etc.

Lastly, Chapter X classifies and describes the various coins current in Maharashtra during the period under review. It also discusses the banking functions of the indigenous bankers, the rate of interest and prices.

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Chapter I

Introduction

This is an attempt at presenting a sketch of the conditions of life in Maharashtra of Shivaji's times, primarily from the economic point of view. It was a period of great significance in the history of Maharashtra. Shivaji the Great, the dynamic centre of this historic epoch was the principal architect of the regeneration of Maharashtra.

GEOGRAPHY OF MAHARASHTRA

The history of a people can be fully understood only in the context of ^{the} geography and environment of their region. It is the geography that largely determines the character and activity of the people. The topographical features of Maharashtra have, therefore, a definite share in shaping the history of the land.

Maharashtra is a part of the geological division of India called the Deccan and lies between latitudes 15° and 23°, and is roughly conterminous with the main mass of the Deccan Lavas above ¹ the Ghats. This region is also known as Deccan Trap. ² The numerous hills and mountain ranges of black rock, the rivers flowing through this region, and the black soil, owe their existence to this Deccan ³ trap.

This terrain of Maharashtra is divided into high and low level tracts by the rugged line of the Western Ghats, which run parallel to the coast line for many hundred miles. The Western Coast-line or the low-lying tract below the Ghats is termed the Konkan, and the low-level tract lying behind stretching eastward from the Ghats is termed the Deccan Plateau or Desh. The high level tract or the table land of the Western Ghats known as Ghatmatha, played an important part in Maratha history as all the famous historic hill-forts are found in this region.

The average rainfall on the coast-line is about 100" to 125" per annum. The soil available for cultivation belongs to the category of coastal alluvium and laterite. The cultivated area consists of a few rich plots of rice land and areas interspersed with groves of coconut, palm, mango, betel and cashewnut.

The Table Land possesses large tracts of rocky and uncultivable land. The rainfall in this region is very heavy and on the high tops it is sometimes 225" in a year. These mountain tops are difficult to scale. They provide natural bases for the forts. From the strategic point of view this is one of the best fortified regions in India. Many great events of Maratha history took place in this region.

The Deccan plateau lying to the eastern side of the Western Ghats has a very scanty rainfall, the average varying from 20" to 30" per annum, but it produces good crops and cereals. The soil belongs to the category of medium black and deep black.

Unevenly distributed rainfall, varying fertility of the soil and predominance of rocky tracts have made life very hard in this area, and certain parts are constantly under the threat of famine. These peculiar geographical features have produced a race of sturdy people who have to labour hard for a meagre subsistence.

Geographically Maharashtra was in a large measure inaccessible to foreigners. Maharashtra was constituted as a natural and impregnable fortress. The Marathas attached high importance to the forts. It was held that the essence of the kingdom was the fort. The survival of the kingdom depended on the efficient administration of the forts.

MAHARASHTRA OF SHIVAJI'S TIMES

Sabhasad, a contemporary of Shivaji, mentions the extent of Shivaji's kingdom in his bakhar ' Life of Shiva Chatrapati '. According to him Shivaji's kingdom comprised of two divisions: the area lying

between Godāvarī and Tungabhadra rivers, and secondly the region between Tungabhadra and Kāverī rivers. The first division was called Swarāj, and was comprised of areas from Maharashtra. It extended from the fort of Salherī on the hither banks of the Godāvarī over the whole country of Talghāt and Warghāt to the Tungabhadra. The latter division extended beyond the Tungabhadra to the banks of the Kaveri and included Kolhār, Bālāpur, Jinjī and Vellore.

Shivaji's swaraj in Maharashtra was divided into three provinces. They were as below:-

- 1) Northern Division - It included the area between Salher (Nāsik District) to Poona and a part of Konkan, north of Bombay namely Kalyān and Bhivandī.
- 2) Southern Division - Konkan from Chaul to Kopal including Dābhol, Rajāpur, Kudāl, Bande, and Phond.
- 3) Desh - The warghāt (country above the Ghats) from Wai to Kopal on the Tungabhadra. It included the southern desh district roughly from Satara to Dharwar and Kopāl.

It is true that the entire territory was not under Shivaji's political domination throughout the period under review. Shivaji's career of annexation started only after 1645 and it was at its zenith in 1678-79. However, for the sake of convenience the whole territory has been considered as Maharashtra of Shivaji's time (i.e. 1630 to 1680 A.D.) The area covered by this study has been shown in a map enclosed to this study. Again, the growth of Shivaji's power in Maharashtra and the vicissitudes through which the new born Maratha State had to pass during the life time of Shivaji, have been discussed in an appendix to this chapter.

SCOPE OF THE SUBJECT

Economic history of a country is a record of the economic activities of the people. It studies the achievements of the people in the field

of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, money, banking as well as the state policies relating to public income and expenditure. It also considers the impact of natural calamities like famine and the effects of state activity.

The present study is, strictly speaking, not an economic history of the 17th century Maharashtra. History presupposes marshalling of facts in a chronological order. But it is very difficult to narrate the development of economic life in India prior to the establishment of the British Rule, as we do not get chronological and statistical information, so essential for the economic history of any country. The pioneering work in this field was done by R.C. Dutt. But it should be remembered here that his Economic History of India begins with 1757 i.e. the battle of Plassey and ends with 1900. He could present a connected account of this period, because he could consult English material relating to this period which was available in plenty.

To present such an account of economic development of the seventeenth century Maharashtra is well-nigh impossible. The present study, therefore, is an endeavour to describe the conditions of economic life with the help of contemporary or nearly contemporary sources rather than an account of the historical development of economy in Maharashtra of the seventeenth century.

The scope of the subject is, therefore, comprehensive and includes the entire economic activity of the people of Maharashtra of Shivaji's times and an analysis of the main factors and forces in their economic life. It describes such aspects of economy as village organization, land system, survey and settlement, revenue administration, agriculture, irrigation, famine, public income, public expenditure, manufactures, trade and commerce, money, banking, rate of interest, prices etc. as revealed by our records.

It should be noted here at the outset that the picture of Maharashtra presented here is not just of Maharashtra under Shivaji. Secondly only the published material of the period under review is taken into account, and lastly, in such studies one cannot strictly adhere to the chronological limits. The sources consulted here sometimes refer to an earlier and sometimes to a later period under study. As economic institutions die hard, it may conveniently be presumed that such chronological disparities do not affect the general picture of economic life. One has to make certain allowances in this respect to get a link or to understand a problem in its full perspective.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

The sources of information may be classified into two broad groups, namely original sources and secondary sources.

Original sources include contemporary Sanskrit and Marathi works, state and family papers, chronologies, Bakhars, and English works such as travel-books, translations from other languages, biographies and Factory records.

Secondary sources include mainly Marathi and English works belonging to a slightly later period. It also includes those works which are written with the help of original sources.

ORIGINAL SOURCES.

(1) SANSKRIT.

The works of Parmāṇand, Jayarām Pindye, Raghunāth Hanmante, Veṅkatādhavari, Gāgabhata must be prominently mentioned among the original sources.

The most important sanskrit work of this period is kavindra Parmāṇand's 'Anupurāṇam or Shivabhārat', an incomplete epic written in imitation of Raghuvamśa. It contains thirty one complete cantos and nine verses from the thirty second canto. The narrative is only upto 1661 A.D.

Parmanand was born in the year 1629 A.D. at Nevāsā, a village in the Ahmednagar District. He was a Deshastha Brahmin and his original name was Ānand. But when he received the title of Kavindra Kavishwar⁹ from Shivaji, he changed his name to Parmanand. He went to Banaras to prosecute higher studies and there at the request of the Brahmins of Banaras, who were eager to know about Shivaji, narrated the life story of Shivaji to them. The poet describes at length the early history of Shahaji, Shivaji's training and his early achievements, wars with Bijapur etc.

Jadunath Sarkar considers this epic as a 'laudatory' one written by a 'court flatterer' and condemns it as 'literary beggary'.¹⁰ He further states that it has not value as factual history or exact record of events.¹¹

It cannot be denied that Parmanand, in his enthusiasm to praise Shivaji, has sketched a highly elevated picture of Shivaji's character and ^c achievements. It is not free from exaggerated accounts. Nevertheless, it is an important source book for the student of social history of (the) seventeenth century Maharashtra. Whether Shivabharat is a 'literary beggary' or Parmanand was a court 'flatterer' is not a point of great significance to the present study, and despite its alleged defects as a source of political history, one cannot ignore the flood of light that it throws on the conditions of life during the great famine of 1630, the cities, towns, castes, weapons, art of warfare, religious beliefs, customs, ceremonies etc.

Parmanand was a contemporary of Shivaji and as such one has to consider his account more reliable or authentic than that of a subsequent author. The only precaution to be taken in the case of all literary sources is that they should be accepted with discrimination and judgement¹² as they are very often imaginative rather than matter of fact.

Parmanand's other book "Parmanand Kavyam" edited by G.S.Sardesai

mainly deals with Sambhaji and hence is of not much help for our purpose. Besides, it does not contain much valuable information about economic and social conditions.

Another noteworthy author of this period is Jay^Aram Pindye, born in 13 a village in Nasik District. He joined Shahaji Bhonsale in Karnatak and continued to be in the service of Vyankoji, the son of Shahaji who was an officer of Bijapur initially. There are two important historical works to his credit - Radhamadhav-vilas Champu and Parnalparvatgrahana - khyana. Jayaram was a linguist, knowing nearly twelve Indian languages. Radhamadhav vilas champu deals mainly with the career of Shahaji Bhonsale. In the Parnalparvatgrahanakhyān or "Capture of the Panhala fort" the poet describes Shivaji's achievements. In the course of the narration, Jayaram speaks of many customs and practices of the royal family.

Shivaji had entrusted the work of compiling a political terminology to Raghunath Hanmante. He was instructed to expurge all alien terms used in the various departments of administration and to prepare a new set of Sanskrit equivalents for Persian words which were then used in the administration of the state. Raghunath Hanmante thus 14 compiled the Rajyavyavaharkosha which gives a fund of information about, social, economic and political life of the period of Shivaji.

A mention must be made here of a book "Vishavagunadarsha Champu" written in the seventeenth century by a Karnatak Scholar Venkatadhvari. In this book a full chapter is devoted to the description of Maharashtra, in which the author gives a detailed account of the position of Brahmins, Marathas and other classes in society. A very interesting feature of this account is that it discusses, in the form of dialogue both merits and demerits of the people of Maharashtra.

Gagabhat's "Shivaraj Prashasti" and "Shivarkodaya" as well as Nischalpur's (9) "Shivaraj Rajyabhisheka Kalpataru", though contemporary

works, are not of much help to us as they do not throw any light on economic life of the period.

Keshav Pandit, a noteworthy Karhādā brahmin of Sangameshwar, district Ratnāgiri, wrote a treatise on criminal jurisprudence, called "Dandniti prakarnam". according to Shri. Bendrey V.S. who edited this work, Dandniti was written during the regime of Sambhaji when the author was discharging the duties of Dandādhykshya.¹⁵ But the cases referred to and the punishments recommended, however, do not strictly relate to the period under review. Keshav Pandit discusses essentially the traditional criminal jurisprudence prevalent in early India. It is, therefore, practically of no use for our study.

His other work "Rajārām Charitam" was a description of Rajaram's journey to Jinji when Raigad was besieged by the Mughal general Zulfiquarkhan in the year 1689. This work is also of not much help to us.

2. MARATHI

The Marathi sources are more valuable in constructing the economic history of the period under consideration. Even the published works in Marathi enable us to give a vivid picture of the conditions of life in the period under review. These published Marathi sources can be classified for the sake of convenience into three broad groups :

- (i) Bakhars,
- (ii) Family papers and other documents and,
- (iii) Literary works.

1. BAKHARS.

Historians consider Bakhar as an inferior source of political history. However a Bakhar can serve, to a great extent, the purpose of a student of social history. The only Bakhar which deserves some notice is the Sabhasad Bakhar, written fourteen years after Shivaji's death,

by an eminent person Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad at the request of Rajaram. The Chronicle was completed in 1694. Possibly it was begun in 1694 and completed in 1697.¹⁶ From the detailed account that has been given in the Bakhar, it appears that he had a free access to the various state papers and had personally witnessed many events, that he describes happening. It helps us to get a picture of conditions of life in the seventeenth century. A good deal of information is available in this book on such topics as revenue administration, structure of administration, the salaries of the various officials, coins of Shivaji, etc.

Another contemporary Bakhar is 91 qalami Bakhar written by Dattaji Trimal Wagnavis. As regards the date of this Bakhar, it is claimed that it must have been written before 1685 or at least before 1713.¹⁷ But the original has been lost and what we get at present is a copy prepared probably a generation later by Khando Anaji Malkare. This Bakhar has been edited by five eminent scholars separately, namely D.B.Parasnis, V.K.Rajwade, K.B.Sane, Forrest and Jadunath Sarkar. In each edition we find certain articles missing.

The 91 Q. Bakhar does not supply us any important material for narrating the economic life of Maharashtra.

2. FAMILY PAPERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS.

The second most important group of Marathi sources includes family papers and other contemporary documents published by V.K.Rajwade, Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal and research scholars. They have been used much in the present study as they reveal many facts relating to social, economic, religious and political conditions of life of Maharashtra in the seventeenth century.

These papers mainly deal with legal suits, partition awards, petitions, market-rates, tax-structure and methods of collection of

taxes, privileges enjoyed by different sections of the population, watan system, military equipment, land revenue, types of land, sale and purchase deeds, punishments, festivals, recreations, food and diet, dress, position of Brahmins, status of women in the society, famines, ornaments, construction of buildings, trade and commerce, transport, education, coinage and a variety of subjects which can be fully exploited in narrating the economic life of Maharashtra.

The family papers and other miscellaneous documents that are consulted in this study are mainly from the following sources:-

- (1) Marāṭhyānchya Itihāsāchi Sādhane
edited by V.K.Rajwade.
Volumes : 8, 9, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21.
- (2) Shivacharitra Sāhitya published by
the Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal.
Volumes 1 to 11.
- (3) Shivakālin patra-sar sangraha
published by B.I.S.M. Volumes 1 to 3.
- (4) Relevant papers from books and
magazines edited by B.I.S.M. and
individuals.
- (5) Family histories or chronologies
like Jedhe Shakāvali, Jedhe Karina,
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Honap Deshpande, Shivapurkar etc.
- (6) Adnyapatra (Royal Edict) on the
a treatise
Principles of State Policy on Maratha
Polity written by Ramchandra Pant Amatya
about 1716 at the instance of Shambhu Raja
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of Kolhapur. Ramchandra Pant was in the
state service from 1672 till his death

in 1716. He had intimate knowledge of Maratha State polity. His treatise mainly relates to the methods and principles of Shivaji.

III. LITERATURE.

The period under review is rich in literary achievements. It witnessed the growth of Marathi literature in its various forms such as philosophic discourses, devotional songs, romantic poetry, Mythology, folk-lore and treatises on a variety of topics such as polity, law, astronomy, astrology etc.

Our literary sources furnish us with enough material enabling us to sketch a picture of the life of our ancestors of the seventeenth century. After making due allowance for the conceits, and exaggerations of literary men we still have to recognize that these accounts provide valuable source material for our study.

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Dr. Ketkar mentions nearly fifty authors, but in this present study emphasis has been laid on the two great saint-poets of the period namely Rāmdās and Tukārām. A reference has been also made to Mukteshwar, Sāmraj, Bhushan, etc. but they do not throw much light on economic life of the period under review.

Rāmdās, in his writings, especially Dāsabodha, deals with many subjects which are of much significance to us. An intensive study of his literature convinces the reader that he was a man of varied interests.

Rāmdās was born in the village Jāmb, in Ambad Taluka of Aurangābad district, in the year 1608. His name was Suryāji and family name was Thosar. At the tender age of twelve he renounced wordly life.

His main work is "Dāsabodha" and this is essentially a discourse between himself and his disciples. He explains to them the path of

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Bhakti.

His literary works, particularly Dasabodha, provide information regarding the famine of 1629-30, customs and beliefs, worship of gods, miseries of matrimonial life, medical relief, criminal jurisprudence, position of Brahmins, pseudosaints, recreation, vices, trees and fruits of Maharashtra, building material, gardening, articles in the kitchen, dresses, articles of daily use, etc.

In the group of Marathi literary works useful for narrating the economic history of the period under review, Tukaram's Gatha or compositions of Tukārām assume ^m prime place.

Tukaram was born in a vaishya family at Dehu, a village in the Poona district, probably in the year 1608 A.D. He joined, at an early age, his family calling of a grocer, and shouldered the responsibility of his big family for a long period. He married twice. He was a small shop-keeper and money-lender. But the family difficulties, the famine of the early years of the seventeenth century, and general conditions of misery ultimately forced him to abandon the material life and become a devotee of the Vithobā of Pandharpur.

The Gāthā of Tukārām is a store-house of information useful for our purpose. It deals with a variety of subjects such as, dress, diet, games and recreation trade and commerce, castes and creeds, money-lending position of Brahmins, etc.

Rāmdās and Tukārām thus constitute the main source of information from the group of literary works. Mukteshwar, Sāmraj and Bhushan also help us in narrating the social history of Maharashtra.

BALLADS

There are three main ballads belonging to this period, namely Agindās ballad of Afzalkhān, that of Tulsidās of Sinhagad and lastly Ymaji's of Baji Pāsalkar. These ballads have been preserved by a class

of people known as Gondhalis and transmitted from generation to generation by oral tradition. They represent "the feelings of the common man".²³ These ballads are informative about customs, religions, persecution, Marathas in the service of Muslims, dresses, recreations, etc.

(iii) OTHER ORIGINAL SOURCES

(a) Accounts of foreign travellers

Under this title the writings of Thevenot Careri, John Fryer, Dellon, Manucci, Tavernier, Abbe Caree, Pietro della valle, Bernier are mainly consulted.

Many renowned travellers visited India during this century and gave valuable accounts of their impressions about Indian life. During²⁴ the seventeenth century more than thirty travellers visited India. But among them some ten or eleven travellers are alone worthy of any notice as their accounts are more comprehensive and based on more reliable data. They came to India from different countries mainly from Italy, England and France and moved in the country as merchants, physicians,²⁵ envoys, ecclesiastics, soldiers, sailors and adventurers.

These travellers, no doubt, furnish valuable information to the student of social history of India. Nevertheless, their accounts may only be accepted with certain reservations. The main defects of such writings are historical inaccuracies, inadequate knowledge of geography, customs and manners of the people. Sometimes they are prejudiced and hold peculiar notions about Indians. The information from these travel-books is stereotype. The travellers sometimes record their hurried impressions and superficial observations.

But these accounts refer to common place matters which are of much significance to the student of economic history. They throw light on the habits of the people, their food and drink, prices, coins, wage rates, amenities of life, discomforts and difficulties, behaviour of

the officials, custom rates, transport, theft, etc. These matters appear insignificant to a native author, but the foreigners find a good deal of interest in such commonplace things. Thus their personal experiences help us to understand several useful matters which are left unnoticed by other people.

Unfortunately very few of the distinguished travellers of the seventeenth century visited the Deccan, particularly Maharashtra, with the result that we get scanty information from them regarding conditions of life in Maharashtra. The ruggedness of the Maratha country and the poverty of the people did not attract the foreigners towards this part of India, and as such they preferred to tour in the Mughal India or the Portuguese India where they found much business.

However we are indebted to some of the celebrated travellers of this century like Thevenot, Careri, Dr. John Fryer, Dellon, Abbe Carre, Pietro della Valle, Manucci, Tavernier and Bernier, for their critical observations about the way of life in Maharashtra. Of the travellers who got opportunities to move in the Deccan, two are most important, namely Dr. John Fryer and Careri.

Dr. John Fryer, a physician, was in Persia and India between 1672-1681. His account made the foreigners aware of the activities of Shivaji.

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As Orme puts it, "Our attention to what Fryer says of him (Shivaji) first led us to discover that Shivaji was the founder of the present nation of the Marattoes." He paid a brief visit to many places in the Deccan such as Bombay, Bassein, Thana, Kalyan, Junnar, Karwar and Vengurla. He gives an authentic account of Henry Oxinden's embassy in the year 1674 A.D. In his writings, observations on diet, dress, royal court as well as descriptions of cities like Bombay, Bassein are found.

Dr. John F. Gemelli Careri was another noteworthy traveller of this period. Careri was an Italian physician and visited some parts of

The Deccan such as Bassein, Ghodbandar, Kanheri caves, Chaul, Dabhol, Ponda, Galgalā, Chikodi, Mudhol and Belgaum. Though he came as late as 1695 A.D. his information is of much use to us.

Thus these two travellers are ranked high among the European travellers in India during the seventeenth century and their accounts enlighten us on many points about social history.

M. De. Thevenot, an ardent student of geography and natural sciences came to India in November 1665 and left India in 1667. He visited several places as Aurangābād, Daulatābād, Bhāgānagar, Burhānpur, Ellorā, etc.

B I O G R A P H I E S

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The translations of Shivaji's foreign biographies have also been consulted under this topic.

Some contemporary Portuguese and French writers attempted to give an account of the life-story of Shivaji. Dr. Sen has done a meritorious service to the History of Maharashtra by translating these biographies and compiling them in one volume entitled "Foreign Biographies of Shivaji". It includes the writings of Cosme da Guarda, Thevenot, Barthelemy Carre, Francois Martin and certain other extracts from Dutch and English records.

Carre's "History of Seva-Gy" and "Sequel to the History of Seva-Gy" are of unequalled value. He was in India between 1668-1673 and it seems that he was well acquainted with the activities of Shivaji as he described them in great detail.

Francois Martin was another important French biographer. Martin describes mainly the Karnatak expedition of Shivaji in his memoirs. He gives a history of the period between 1664-1694. Martin bitterly complains against the tyranny of Shivaji's officials posted in Karnatak. We find

his observations about Shivaji's military camps, cavalry, administration in conquered territories etc. in his memoirs.

The third biographer of Shivaji was Guarda who wrote about Shivaji in 1695. His account is incomplete and unreliable at several places yet it cannot be set aside as it deals with the currency, coins, military organization, treatment of soldiers, relation between the ruler and the ruled in Maharashtra.

RECORDS AND OTHER WORKS

As regards records, the East India Company Records, entitled "The English Factories in India" edited by William Foster help us in a limited way to explain the conditions of economic life. In the present study an extensive use has been made of "English Records on Shivaji" edited by B.G.Paranjape and D.V.Kale and published by the Shiva Charitra Karyalaya, Poona.

These records are of great value in describing the economic conditions of the period as ample material is found on such topics as currency, custom policies, commercial relations, position of English Factories, articles of trade, prices etc.

A special mention must be made here of a recent publication of the Central Records Office, Hyderabad Government, entitled "Selected Waqai of the Deccan (1660-71 A.D.), as it reveals many important points regarding the exchange rates between different currencies as well as the prices of several commodities of daily use prevailing during this period.

Besides these records some translations of contemporary Persian and Dutch records as well as accounts have been consulted in this study. But very little information can be obtained for describing economic life

of Maharashtra from these sources.

SECONDARY SOURCES

A number of books on Shivaji and the History of the Marathas have been written both in English and Marathi. Several biographies of Shivaji and many essays describing the various aspects of Maratha History have been consulted in the present study. Similarly a fairly large number of reference books have been consulted to explain certain ideas or terms. A list of all such works has been attached to this study at the end.

CHAPTER - I.NOTES

1. Geology of India by Wadia pp. 1-3
2. Imperial Gaz. Bombay Province Vol. I pp. 8-9
3. Geology of India Pp. 1-3
4. Imperial Gaz. of India, Bombay Province Vol. I P. 3
5. Adnyāpatra P. 31
6. Sabhāsad P. 106
7. Ibid. P. 74
8. Ibid. P. 74 Sardesai P- 271, Sarkar P-340
9. House of Shivaji P.- 323 (Sarkar)
10. Sarkar P. 376 (Shivaji and his times)
11. Ibid P. 329 "
12. Compare : A source book of Maratha History by Rawlinson and Patwardhan Vol. I P. - 2
13. Radhamadhar Vilas Champu edited by V.K.Rajwade P. - 4
14. Rajyavyavahārikosh is included in Shiva Charitra Pradeep, separately published by the Marathwādā Sahitya Parishad.
15. Dandniti edited by V.S.Bendrey. P. - 35.
16. Sabhāsad P. 116.
17. Introduction to 91 q. Bakhar edited by Wakaskar, P. - 16.
18. Shivacharitra Pradeep Pp.14-70.
19. Introduction to Adnyāpatra P. - 10.
20. Maharashtraiyānche Kāvya-parikshā - Chapter 11. Refer to J.E. Abbot's article "The poet saints of Maharashtra during the life of King Shivaji", in Shivaji Nibandhavali Vol. I Pp. 1-31 (English Section).
21. Dāsodha Verse 2 Dashak 1 Samas 1.
22. Tukārām by P.M.Lad P. - 28.
23. Acworth and Shaligram P. - 11
24. European Travellers in India by E.F.Oaten.

25. Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri
edited by S.N.Sen. Introduction P. xvii
26. Orme's Fragments P. - 232
27. Foreign Biographies of Shivaji Dr. S.N.Sen.
Introduction.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

Shivaji's political career begins with the acquisition of the Poona Jāgir from his father Shanaji. This Jāgir comprised the territory lying between Chākan and Indāpur, Supā, Shirwal and the frontier of Wāi. It was bounded on the west by the Bhima and on the South by the Nirā rivers, and it yielded, according to Sabhāsad a revenue of forty thousand hons,² at least on paper. In the early years of Shivaji's career, the region of Poona Jagir was in a desolate condition owing to the famine of 1629-30 and the constant inroads of the Muslim powers.

As early as 1645, Shivaji had expressed his pious wish to find^u an independent Hindu State, when he assured protection to the Deshpande³ of Rohirkhore and Welwand. He gave effect to his ideas by seizing the fort of Purandhar from Bijapur in 1648 and the capture of Javali of the Mores in 1656. He was making efforts to extend his sway in the South Konkan after these early victories.

His victory over Afzalkhan in 1659 gave him enough courage to fight against the alien powers and carve out a kingdom for himself from their possessions. He captured Panhālā fort from Bijapur, but could not retain it because of Siddi Jauhar who had come to the rescue of the Bijāpur Kingdom. Shivaji escaped from Panhālā in 1660 to meet⁴ the Mughals. He crushed Kārtalabkhān at Umbarkhind in 1661, and wrought havoc in South Konkan capturing and plundering various places like Dabhol, Rajāpur etc. In the meanwhile, the Mughals gathered their forces, took Kalyān and chased Shivaji and his captains. Shivaji, however, was more than a match to the Mughals. He effected a surprise attack on Shaistakhān in Poona and thus dealt a blow to the prestige of the Mughals in the Deccan.

Being enraged by the failure of Shaistakhān, Aurangzeb sent Jay

Singh with a large force to avenge the humiliation of the Poona raid.

Shahaji₂ died in an accident in 1664, but Shivaji had no time to mourn the death of his father. He was roving between Ahmednagar and Vengurla. The first sack of Surat was conducted during this year only, and an expedition on Kundal was planned.

Shivaji did not tolerate any opposition from his own people in his plan of establishing a Maratha kingdom. The Ghorpades of Mudhol were severely dealt with and the Sāvants of Wādi, who were creating trouble for him with the help of the Portuguese, were subdued by him. Thus in 1664 he had established his sway over the greater portion of the Konkan and had struck terror in the hearts of his enemies from Surat in the North to Karwar in the South.

The Mughals, however, were too formidable to ^{be} ^{led} expel from the Deccan. He, therefore, concluded a treaty with Jai Singh known as the treaty of Purandhar in 1665, and ceded 23 forts of Desh (9) and Konkan (14) to the Mughals along with their adjoining territories, yielding a revenue of four lakhs of hons. He retained with him some minor forts yielding a revenue of one lakh hons only.

It must be noted here that the territory of Shivaji was considerably reduced in 1665, and was forced to accept the supremacy of the Mughals. It means that in 1665 he had only a little more territory in possession than his original Poona Jagir yielding a revenue of forty thousand hons. Aurangzeb tried in vain to entrap him in the Agra fort in 1666, and crush the Maratha power.

After his return from Agra, he set himself vigorously to regain his lost territories, and by 1670 he recovered all the major forts that he had ceded to the Mughals in 1665.

The year 1670, like 1664, was a year of crowded activity for him. After defeating the Mughals in the battle of Vani-Dindori, he traversed

Berār, Bāglān, Khāndesh, Burhānpur, Karanjā and carried spoils of the value of a crore of rupees loaded on four thousand oxen and donkeys.⁵ He started the practice of imposing openly the levy of Chauth on the Mughal territories through which he passed. Sardesai remarks that he meant thereby to announce that "all Maratha territories belonged of right to him and not to the Mughals".⁶

Salher a place of strategic importance was captured from the Mughals in 1671. While fighting against enemies from all sides, his captains continued the capture of territories. Moropant Pingle captured Jawhar, Ramnagar and Nasik (1671), Annaji Datto, captured Panhala (1672) and occupied Satara (1673).

Shivaji crowned himself as the first Maratha king in 1674. He spent lavishly on this ceremony. The Coronation was followed by a policy of conquest and in the succeeding years he captured territories in Desh and Konkan, and carved a kingdom in the Karnatak.

The early years of Shivaji's period were not free from the devastating effects of the famine of 1629-30. Agriculture and industry were dislocated due to famine as well as constant warfare. Nevertheless Shivaji succeeded to some extent in providing a stable basis for his kingdom. He endeavoured to make his state politically and economically a sound entity. He did not neglect the economic factor. Many avenues of employment in agriculture, industry, construction, military, civil administration were made available by him to the people of Maharashtra.

Thus in 1680 he created a kingdom yielding a revenue of one crore hons.

— NOTES —

1. Sarkar P. 23
2. Sabhasad P. 107
3. Raj 15 : 268
4. Shivabhārat Canto 29
5. Sardesai Vol. I P. 202
6. Sardesai Vol. I P. 203

23.1

Chapter II

THE VILLAGE

C H A P T E R - II

THE VILLAGE

The village played an important part in the economic life of Maharashtra under review. As agriculture was the way of life of most¹ of the people, the village was the centre of economic activity. Towns and commercial centres were comparatively few.

The total area of the village was divided mainly into two parts,² namely the arable land and the land for habitation. The village has been referred to by several names in our records, such as "Grāma" "Dehe", "Moujā", "Khede" etc. The suburbs of the villages were called as "Majarā", "Wādī", "Pādī", "Khāri" etc.

Grāma, Mouja, Dehe, Khede all are synonyms, but the word Mouja is frequently used in our records. Sometimes the village got divided into two unequal parts, the bigger came to be called 'Budruk' and the smaller³ 'Khurda' e.g. Moujā-Mose Budruk and Moujā-Mose Khurda. The process was sometimes, reversed as a village grew and part of it received administrative recognition as a unit. It then took over the name of the parent village with the appellation of Khurda - the small. The original village consequently came to be characterized as the great i.e. Budruk.

The suburb of the village was often styled as majarā. Occasionally some families residing in their own fields far away from the usual place of habitation formed this majarā. Sometimes the suburbs assumed the names of the fields or the places where they were situated. Wādī, pādī,⁴ khāri⁵ are synonymous with the majara. The term wādī was used in Desh territories, whereas both pādī and wādī were common in the Konkan region.⁶ Khāri signifies the suburb of the coastline village.

Kasbā, the chief town of the Mahāl, was usually bigger than a mere village. It had artisans and enjoyed the privilege of holding a weekly

7

bazaar. It was thus a place of considerable economic activity. In Marathi records it is sometimes referred to as Peth. Its origin may be traced to a grant by the local chief or the ruler of the right to
8
establish a Peth with the necessary facilities.

Mire was a port-town. Its size depended upon other supplementary activities carried on there.

RESIDENTS OF THE VILLAGE

The village was a closed-knit unit. Those who held land directly from the state were known as Deshaks, a term signifying active citizens of the village. They were the permanent residents of the village and performed various administrative, religious or ministerial services for the village.

9

A document of the year 1631 makes a distinction between the officers of the state and the Deshkas. This document gives a list of Deshaks of Mamla, Village, Pargana and Kasba. The Deshaks according to this document were Desai, Deshkulkarni, Patil, Kulkarni, Sete-Mahajan, weaver, cultivators and several balutedars like Mahār, Mānga, Washerman, Blacksmith, etc.

It is quite clear from this document that the hereditary officers and servants of the Pargana, Kasaba, Peth and village communities were jointly known as the Deshak. At other places Prabhudesai, Kulkarni, Mokadam, Chaudhari, Chaugula, and other important citizens of the village
10
were included under the Deshak. With the help of the documentary evidence it can be said that the term Deshak was used in a comprehensive sense, signifying the hereditary officials like Deshmukh, Deshkulkarni, Patil,
11
the important citizens or ryots and the Balutedars.

Some of the Deshaks paid no land revenue to the state and held rent-free lands. They were called watandars. Amongst the Marathas,

The term watan was used to denote a rent-free land held in hereditary and perpetual occupation. In return, they undertook to perform certain duties for the village. The Patil was primarily a government officer. He and the Kulkarni were concerned with the payment of the stipulated amount of land revenue from the village. The Kulkarni kept accounts of the payments made by the individual land holders. The Patil received the amount due to the state and was responsible for paying it to the state. The state would not care to maintain direct relationship with the individual landholders. The Patil served as a link and intermediary. It was his duty to collect state dues from the landholders and to make up any shortage from his own resources.

The villagers who paid the land revenue naturally formed a majority of the village population. They are very often called Mirasdars, an Arabic term signifying proprietors. An earlier designation of this class is "thalkaris" of which Mirasdar is the Arabic version. The non-land holding portion of the village consisted of the tenants who had no land of their own. They had no locus standi and were called uparis or strangers.

There were then the Balutedars who performed various services for the villagers and the village and were rewarded for their services with annual payments of agricultural produce called Baluta. The number of Balutedars and the persons included in this class varied from village to village. A document dealing with the conferment of the office of Kulkarni and Joshi on a person by the Mirasdars and Balutedars of the village, nearly ten Balutedars with their professional symbols have been mentioned. This document also speaks for the place of the Balutedars in the Gotsabha. It appears that important decisions affecting the village are taken together by the hereditary officials, Mirasdars and Balutedars of the village. Among these Balutedars may be counted washermen, barbers, Mangas, potters, Mahars, goldsmiths, carpenter, oil sellers, blacksmiths, shoe-

The Joshis, Guravs and Maulanas served the spiritual needs of the villagers. They were compensated partly by the fees paid in kind by their clients and partly may be occasionally by grant of rent-free land.

As all the Deshaks did not cultivate all the land that they owned,¹⁸ there were tenants, referred to as "upari" in our records, who cultivated the land on payment of rent usually in kind to the landholders.

Thus the residents of the village were the watandars, thalkaris, balutedars and uparis, and they performed the various services of the village.

WATANDARS

Watan is an Arabic word and its use is traceable to the Muhamadan kings of the Deccan. Watan is a grant made by the state to a person who holds a certain office and the grant continues in his family so long as the services are rendered efficiently.

A watandar was maintained by the village. The villagers paid him in cash and kind for his services to the village. In fact, the watandar claims this remuneration from the villagers as a matter of right and they have been referred to as rights and dues - Haklajima. These haklajimas were recognised by the state and they were specifically¹⁹ mentioned in their watan-deeds.

'The watandars were the permanent officials and their services were essential for the efficient working of the village administration. A change in Government hardly affected the position of watandars.' The watandars who were formerly serving the Muslim rulers continued to enjoy the same privileges under Shivaji when he annexed such Muslim territories to the Maratha kingdom.²⁰

Besides the collection of revenue and encouraging agriculture,

they performed a number of duties such as deciding the petty local disputes in the village community council i.e. Gotasabha, organising the village festivals and ceremonies, colonization and habitation, maintenance of peace and order in their respective areas etc.

The Marathas attached much importance to the watan. It was an instrument for a political career, the only means of livelihood, a sign of prestige and dignity. Some people preferred to be watandars rather than be elevated to a higher place in the state government. Being pleased with the services of his secretary Balaji Avaji Prabhu, Shivaji expressed his desire to absorb him in his cabinet, Ashtapradhan Mandal. But Balaji preferred the perpetuation of his chitnisi watan in his family throughout the kingdom of Shivaji to his elevation to the cabinet.
14a 21

Even Shivaji preferred to consider himself as watandar first. This was due to the special significance attached to the watan system by the Marathas. A letter shows that Shivaji had ordered his officials only two years prior to his coronation to maintain separate account of his personal income from his watan areas such as Kudal, Rajapur, Kole, Dabhol, Poona, Javali, Kalyan, Bhivandi, Indapur, Supa etc. He warned his officials that this amount should not be utilised for the administration of the state, but for the protection of the cultivators under his watan jurisdiction from the raids of the Mughals.
22

The watan was a much coveted right and therefore became the root cause of many disputes in society. Claims and counter claims to watans gave rise to excessive litigation, village feuds, conspiracies, violence and murder, deceptions and what not.
23

The motive behind the maintenance of the watan system was to secure an efficient administration of the state. (The power of the state was

decentralized through this system of watan with a view to managing and deciding many things on the spot, instead of referring them often to the central government for help and assistance. Thus it can be said that a well regulated watan system was a pre-requisite to the stability and prosperity of the state.)

Shivaji tried to effect certain changes in the watan system that was prevailing in his territory. He aimed at removing certain evils that had crept into this organisation. (He found that under the previous rulers, the cultivators respected the watandar more than the king.) Previous governments used to auction out the right of collecting land revenue of villages to the watandars. Out of the money so collected they credited a little amount to the treasury and appropriated the rest. This resulted into an increase in the resources of the watandars and they became domineering in the state. They constructed big mansions and forts and employed footmen and musketeers. They often refused to see the officials of the state. They had become turbulent and defiant. Whenever the state demanded a part of their profits out of collections from the cultivators they would resist the demands and pick up quarrels
24
with the state officials.

Chunilal B. Shivaji first of all dismantled their fortifications, appointed his officers to some of the famous forts and thus made the watandars powerless. He required them to live in houses, unprotected like those of the cultivators. The State confiscated all their ill gotten gains. Again the perquisites of the village and pargana officials were deter-
25
mined by the state. Shivaji's attitude towards the watandars has been
26
described in detail by Ramchandrapanta Amatya in the Royal Edict.

As a result of these reforms, the ruler came into direct contact with the cultivators who could look to him for protection against the

watandars. He curbed their powers and reduced their growing influence over the cultivators. He made this system more effective by controlling²⁷ the watandars. He created new watans, on various occasions, continued²⁸ the old watans which were discontinued by the state, confirmed the²⁹ inams granted by his predecessors, and punished many watandars who³⁰ refused to co-operate with him by confiscating their watans.

It would be interesting to note the duties of these hereditary officials and the rights and perquisites enjoyed by them in the village communities. The watandars who were connected with the village administration were the Pātil, Kulkarni, Deshmukh, Deshpande and Chaugula.

P A T I L

The village headman was the chief hereditary officer of the village. He has been referred to as Pātil, Gaopātil, Mokaḍam or Mokaḍam-patil³¹ in the contemporary marathi papers and as Grāmagopaka in the³² Rājyavyavahārkosh.

The office symbol of the Patil was plough which shows his duties in connection with the land. On the official papers where the Patil³³ could not affix his signature, the sketch of a plough was drawn.

His main duty was to bring the idle land under cultivation and³⁴ to make it fruit-bearing. This was his responsibility. Dādoji Kondadeo had once induced certain people with the watan of Pātil on the condition³⁵ that they should colonize the uninhabited parts of Shivaji's jāgir.

The karkun or Mamlatdar had to consult the Patil before fixing the revenue of the village. The Pātil prepared an estimate of the crop every year with the assistance of the Kulkarni and then negotiated with the karkun on behalf of the village. It was the Pātil who used to make³⁶ an appeal for remission in revenue to the state authority. He represented the case of the cultivators to the state regarding the fixation

of land revenue. He supplied all information to the state regarding³⁷ the land holdings in his village, crops grown, revenue realised, etc.

He was responsible for the revenue of the village. He undertook to pay to the state the stipulated amount of land revenue. It was he who suffered if there was any shortage of collection. For example, we find a Patil mortgaging his hereditary office of Patil and borrowing Rs.350/- from a creditor. It may be argued that the amount was borrowed by him for any private purpose, but perhaps to make good of the shortage³⁸ in the stipulated amount of the land revenue. (The state had rewarded him with rent free land because he saved the trouble of collecting land revenue from the individual cultivators.) But he also stood security to the state on behalf of the villagers that the stipulated sum would be paid. The villagers therefore rewarded him by making certain customary payments.

He was an important member of the village council. He conducted³⁹ the meeting of the Village Gotsabha⁴⁰ and no judicial decree of the village was complete without his signature. He was responsible for the⁴¹ maintenance of peace and order in the village.

Many Patils seem to have been Marathas but we come across some Brahmin Patils as well. It was mainly due to the purchase of a patilki⁴² watan or grant of such a watan by the king. The village could not function efficiently without a Patil. In the absence of the Patil, therefore, the Deshmukh of the Pargana used to officiate as Patil till⁴³ a permanent Patil was appointed. The Patil was so powerful a person in the village that, as Tukaram puts it, nobody could continue to stay⁴⁴ in the village if he incurred his wrath.

The watan deed describes the privileges (Haks) and the dues (Lajimās) of the watandar. Any changes thereof were also incorporated in them,

by revising the deed. The privileges enjoyed by the Patil were called
 45
 46
 privileges of the plough. These privileges varied from place to place
 and from time to time. In addition to the watan-estates, the Patil was
 entitled to some payments from the cultivators, both in cash and kind,
 47
 and this share of the Patil was generally fixed by the state.

The rights and perquisites enjoyed by the Patil may be classified
 as below:-

1. MĀN PĀN

It means the seniority rights or the precedence enjoyed by the
 Patil over other members of the community on festive occasions. The
 Patil presided over practically all the ceremonies performed in the
 village. On festive occasions he was entitled to receive from the
 villagers many things, such as Holi cake on the Holi day, an image
 of Ganesh in the month of Bhadrapad, Tilgul during the Sankrant festi-
 val, and many other things on the Dasarā day, Diwālī, Gudi-pādvā or
 48
 the New Year Day, Nagapanchami, polā festival etc.

2. CASH PAYMENTS (KHORDĀ)

He was entitled to receive a share of the total revenue collection
 49
 of the village. This share was determined by the state.

3. PAYMENT IN KIND (GĀLĀ)

The Patil used to receive some grains from each chavar or holding.
 From the cultivator he took Ghugari i.e. an exaction in kind from each
 holding; 'Phasaki' i.e. vegetables and 'Hurda' i.e. unripe jowar. Besides
 these he used to get many things of daily consumption from the artisans
 and shopkeepers, such as a pair of shoes, pasodi i.e. a garment, chol-
 khan i.e. a cloth for bodice or spencer for his wife, oil, coconuts,
 50
 ghee, fowl mutton etc., without paying for them.

4. SERVICES.

He was receiving free services from Mahars, drummers and other
 51
 artisans for his private purpose.

5. LEVIES.

It appears that he got a share from the various levies imposed
 and collected by the state. Our records mention such levies as marriage
 52
 tax, divorce tax, transit tax on the cattle etc.

These rights and perquisites are not mentioned in detail in every
 sanad or Mahajar. Sometimes it is just mentioned that the rights and
 perquisites attached to this office should continue in the family. As
 these rights and perquisites were determined by tradition and custom,
 they were well known to the villagers, and hence there was no necessity
 of stating them in detail in every sanad.

KULKARNI.

53

Kulkarni has been referred to as Gao[kulkarni in our records. In
 many sanads of kulkarni watans in Maharashtra the grant has been stated
 54
 as lekhanvriti. He was also called Grāmlekhi or 55 village accountant. He
 kept a record of the land held by the individual cultivators and the
 revenue due from each. As they paid their land revenue he would enter
 it in his register as receipts. At the end of the collection period, he
 would add up the amounts received and compare them with the total
 56
 demands for the village, and estimate the arrears if any in collection.
 57
 He was punished if he failed in his duty of keeping accounts.

Our records make it one of his duties to attract peasants to the
 58
 village and thus increase the area under cultivation. This seems,
 however, more to have been pious injunction than the definition of an
 obligation.

It seems that the Kulkarni was not an invariable feature of every

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village in Maharashtra of the seventeenth century. This was perhaps due to the dearth of literate persons in the village available for clerical jobs. It was perhaps also due to the limited nature of the duties that he had to perform in each village. According to one document there were
59
eleven villages under the charge of one Kulkarni. Sometimes a Kulkarni probably when he was a Brahmin, used to serve as the village astrologer
60
as well.

A kulkarni holding the charge of many villages appointed deputies
61
in the various villages to maintain accounts. A dishonest kulkarni might inform a cultivator that he had to pay more than what was due from him, and appropriate extra amount for himself. A still worse form of dishonesty was an occasional omission of the entry of revenue payment or an incorrect entry and the manipulation of arrears where there
62
were none. We find Shivaji taking to task the Kulkarni of Cheul for
63
not discharging his duties properly.

It appears that the kulkarni also kept an account of the payments made by the Patil to the representative of the Government. We have an application of 1666 July, complaining that the absence of kulkarni in the villages had resulted in arrears being shown where in reality there
64
were no dues at all.

Sometimes a temporary appointment was made by the villagers when the old hereditary line of office bearers failed. This, in some cases
65
resulted in a vain search for a permanent kulkarni, though in one case we seem to find the office lucrative enough to be sold for 150
hons.

Even though the Patil was supposed to be his senior, he had to depend upon him who might eclipse him occasionally. We find a Patil complaining that he was a titular head and the real power lay with

66
the kulkarni.

In course of time the office became hereditary as we have seen already that it was not always easy to find many literate people
67
capable of keeping accounts. Literacy once acquired by a family, it was expected that it would continue in the family. It was almost taken to be ^{an} obligation of the family to ^{the} rest of the community to place a ^{an} literate person at the service of the village for carrying on administrative functions of the village.

If the family of the kulkarni of a village became extinct due to some reason or the other, the villagers used to appoint a Mutalik for a short period till a permanent office-bearer could be found. The village council then used to sell the office to a person who was willing to accept it. The proceeds of the sale were utilised either for remitting
68
the dues of the village, if any, or credited to the village account. The purchaser thereby succeeded to all the rights of the predecessor. The villagers assured him all protection against any subsequent claimant
69
to the office.

Persons capable of performing the duties of a kulkarni were so few that it was not always possible for the village to levy a purchase money for the office. The villagers were, sometimes, glad to confer it
70
without exacting a price.

As the kulkarni had to deal with the representative of the state, it seems that the action of the villagers in appointing a new kulkarni required the approval of the state. Though the office was hereditary, a kulkarni in office would lose it if the state found it necessary to take action against him for any crime. In such cases, the government
71
took notice of the claims of other members of the family.

The kulkarni office was not an hereditary one in some parts of

the Konkan. It appears that Shivaji appointed kulkarnis in these parts when he acquired some of those territories in 1656. For instance, so long as Cheul Subha was under the control of Bijapur rulers, there were no watandar kulkarnis in the villages of the Subha. The State used to appoint clerks called Huzurdars for a group of villages varying from two to four for keeping accounts. The salaries of these Huz^urdars were fixed in cash. But when Konkan passed into the hands of the Marathas, the cash payments to the accountants were stopped and the Patil was instructed to collect for the Kulkarni, dues from the culti-⁷²vators at the time of the harvest and remit them to the kulkarni. The rights of kulkarni in the Cheul Subha were determined by Shivaji, by⁷³ a Jabata.

In the watan deeds of the kulkarni, the haks were mentioned as below:-

1. CASH PAYMENTS (NAKHTA)

The kulkarni used to receive some cash payments from the village in addition to his salary. In some papers, a cash payment for purchasing⁷⁴ stationery has been mentioned specifically.

2. MAHA S U L i.e. REVENUE FROM EACH HOLDING

⁷⁵
It was fixed per chavar or per khandi.

3. PA IPO SH I

A pair of shoes per year from the shoe-makers.

4. PA DE W A R I

⁷⁶
Padewar means a Mahar and padewari means the free services of a Mahar. Lifting dead cattle was his job.

5. S E L B A I L

Cannot be identified, but Dr. Sen calls it as duty of transport cattle.⁷⁷

6. KADABA OR SHEAVES OF FODDER

Per holding or chāvar and a chāvar is 120 bighas.

7. KHARCHAPATTI AND SADIL-WAR PATTI

These were contingent charges. Kharchapatti means the recognized dues of the village officers and servants, and Sadilwar patti signifies the extra assessment above the public revenue levied by the local officers for meeting the contingencies. Perhaps the kulkarni used to get a share in these taxes, if they were imposed and collected.

8. G H E E

A certain quantity of ghee from the butter dealer.

9. VETHI BEGARI

It means forced labour for private service. It is labour or service exacted by a person in power, without paying for it.

10. GHUGARI

It was a share in crop. The kulkarni used to be present at the time of harvest and while measuring the grain used to put aside a small amount of grain, which he took as his own. This was known as salai i.e. the marker. He was entitled to have Hurda or unripe jwar and ears of corn i.e. lombia.

11. WĀNĀWĀLĀ

It means the sample exacted by government and hereditary officers of the crops and fruits which first ripen.

The huks or imposts of the kulkarni vary from place to place and they were determined according to the custom of that place.

D E S H M U K H

Some of the land in the village could be held by the Deshmukh. He supervised the work of Patils normally in a Pargana. He could allot

33
7/8/77, 4/10/12/21 5/11/2007
13/11/21 5/11/21

fallow state lands to applicants for bringing them under cultivation,
as in Mughal India. This process was facilitated by the State, charging
a nominal assessment till the land was in a position to pay the full
81 taxes.
31/4/12/21

He made an annual round of the villages under his charge to keep
himself informed about the condition of villages and the residents
therein. If necessary, he settled the land revenue of lands newly brought
under cultivation, in the village, and where ownership of land had
changed, caused appropriate entries to be made in the Kulkarni's records
82 of rights.

If the Patil of a village defaulted in making payment of the land
revenue, it was the Deshmukh's duty to admonish him and compel him to
take necessary steps for making up the deficiency. The state took action
against both the Deshmukh and the Patil when the revenue of the village
remained in arrears. In times of distress, the villagers naturally
sought relief from the Government. It was necessary in such cases for
the villagers to convince the Deshmukh of their inability to pay the
land revenue in full. If convinced the Deshmukh accompanied the village
83 officials in representing the case of the village for remission.

It was expected that he would ^{work} in co-operation with the Patils,
84 and Shete mahajans of his pargana.

The Deshmukh was the state's link with the villagers. In case of
external danger of an attack, the state depended upon him to carry out
necessary measures for taking the villagers to a place of safety. A
letter shows that Shivaji had asked the Deshmukh of Rohidkhore that he
should take all the people from his villages to a safe place below the
Ghats where they would not be disturbed by enemies. The letter further
states that the Deshmukh would be held responsible if any villages were

were captured. He was asked to visit every village without any delay,
 85
 work unceasingly and make arrangements for the protection of the people.

He was expected to help the state in building new forts and
 86
 repairing the old ones. He had perhaps to secure labour from villages
 nearby for the purpose. This would represent an additional burden on
 the people. 3989, 624167

Sometimes the Deshmukh had to act as the Patil of a village, where
 there was none. The customary law was that in the absence of a Patil,
 87
 the Deshmukh took his place in the village.

The Deshmukh was entitled to use his seal on official papers. The
 88
 seal carried the plough besides his name and the name of his pargana.

1024
 P. 400
 2000 3000
 The Deshmukh being superior to the village Patil, naturally
 enjoyed more perquisites in villages in his pargana. He was authorised
 to exact payments in kind from the land as well as services and many
consumption goods from the village artisans and merchants.

The Deshmukh was entitled to a maund of grain, some fodder and
 89
 fuel from every village. He collected mangoes for pickles from the
 owners of mango groves.

As regards the articles of consumption, he demanded several things
 from the villagers such as 'erale' i.e. a screen or covering used
 mainly in rainy weather, a small quantity of ghee, a blanket from the
 blanket-weaver i.e. Dhangar, a sheep per flock, a pair of approximately
 five seers per flock, a pair of shoes from the cobbler, oil from the
 90
 oil presser at the rate of five seer per crusher, earthen ware from
 the potters, 'prasād' from the Gurav of the temple during the Navrātra
 festival, a chicken, etc. He did not pay for any of these articles.

He was entitled to receive cash payments in some cases. He had the
 right to demand a cash payment from every village, say about one hon in

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addition to his claims in kind. He was the guest of the village and as such he had a right to demand provisions (Shidhā) from the villages in his pargana.

He demanded several things from the shopkeepers and from hawkers and vendors of the weekly bazaar. He received hanks from the Momins and silk-threads from the Patwegars, a small quantity of each variety of vegetables from the vendors, betel nuts and twelve betel leaves from pan-dealer, fire-works from the manufacturer of such things during the Diwali festival, sweets from the vendors attending a village fair. The merchants attending the weekly bazaars such as grocers, liquor dealers, cloth merchants, ghee merchants, vegetable dealers, perfumers, butchers, etc. paid a small share of their vendible articles. Sometimes he collected a cash payment from the entire market.

He was collecting certain yearly dues from the village artisans such as barbers, washermen, blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers, tailors, etc. He was entitled to a surcharge of 2 p.c. of octroi charged by the state. He collected three rukas on the sale and purchase of cattle per head. He received a quarter-maund of salt per khandi and 2½ seers of jaggery per khandi and ten seers of ginger and turmeric out of the royal share of the village. It appears that he was getting a share from the proceeds of such taxes as Khavāstaka (khavas means a page, a valet, or a body-guard. Khavas taka is perhaps a tax on the personal servants of the grandees), Gaotakā (perhaps a levy imposed on the entire village) a tax on marriage as well as divorce.

He was entitled to receive the services of a Mahar to the extent of one or two months in a year free of charge. He used to get free services from those persons who did the work of plaiting of utensils by supplying the necessary materials. From the oil presser he could

96

get his own oil-seeds crushed free of charge.

In this long list of rights and perquisites of the Deshmukh, we find many claims which gave him a place in the village in certain matters as good as that of a Patil. It is difficult to assume that he actually enjoyed these rights and privileges in all the villages under his charge at the same time. Again these claims differ from place to place. For instance the claims of a Deshmukh from the Konkan area cannot be the same as that of the Desh. A paper from Jamav section mentions the perquisites allowed to the Deshmukh of Cheul in the 17th century from
97
villages under his jurisdiction. However, it appears, that the Deshmukh used to carry away a larger share from the villagers than any other
98
hereditary official.

DESHPANDE

Some of the land in the village may be held by Deshpande who supervised the work of Kulkarnis in his pargana. He has been referred to as Deshkulkarni or Deshlekhaka in our records, the former signifying his authority over a number of villages and as such he was in charge of the records of a number of villages, and the latter points out his main duty as writing the accounts of the villages under his jurisdiction. His duties, thus, were in some respects analogous to those of the
2110111111111111 2221
village kulkarni. He was subordinate to the Deshmukh.

He enjoyed rent-free land in lieu of his services. A Deshpande may be a Kulkarni in a village in which he possessed watan lands for main-
99
taining accounts and records of the village. He acted as kulkarni of
100
the village in the absence of the hereditary kulkarni. Sometimes he
101
used to appoint agents to look after the accounts of his pargana.

The rights and perquisites of the Deshpande included cash payments

and payments in kind from the villages of his pargana. As regards the nature of his rights and perquisites, there was hardly any difference between him and the Deshmukh. The difference was only in degree rather than in kind. The share of the Deshpande was usually half of that of the Deshmukh.

If the Deshmukh got ten jack-fruit per jack-tree, the Deshpande's share was half of it. He received 10% of the mangoes from the mango-groves, one hon at the time of makarsankramna festival for purchasing til, jaggery at the rate of five seers per sugar cane field, in addition to a bundle of sugarcanes and a jar of sugarcane juice. He received maka and vegetables from the farmers who were producing them and a garment from the weaver.

He was entitled to get a pair of shoes from the cobbler, plates formed of leaves tacked together from the gurav, betel-leaves from the tamboli. He received oil at the rate of 27¹⁰² tanks from each oilman.

He was entitled to the free services of the Mahār for fifteen days in a year from each village. He used to get the services of the barber, the carpenter and the gurav whenever he required them.

If any marriage took place in the village, the Deshpande was to receive sugar, betel nuts, pan and clothes, (Shelā pagote) from the parties to the marriage. The Deshmukh, used to collect on behalf of the state a hon from the villages at the time of village festivals as well as fee from the parties to a dispute. It was known as Harki when collected from the winner and Gunhegari when collected from the defeated party. Half of such income was remitted to the state, the Deshpande used to get 1/3 of the remaining half and the rest belonged to the Deshmukh.¹⁰³

Deshmukh and Deshpande did not belong, strictly speaking to village

communities, but as they held land in the village their interests were bound up with the village. It should be clear from our discussion that the remuneration of the Deshmukh and Deshpande, referred to as pargana or district watandars in our records, was paid by the people of the pargana just as the remuneration of the Patil and Kulkarni was paid by the people of the village. This fact explains why the watandars both village and pargana were deeply interested in the prosperity and welfare of the village. They were maintained by the village and not by the Government.

CHAUGULA

The Chaugula was another important person in the village community. He assisted the Patil in his work of village administration. He served as his messenger and helped him in collecting land revenue and also in bringing back cultivators who had left their fields. His symbol was, ¹⁰⁴ like the Patil, a plough. This signifies his association with the work of cultivation of the village land like that of Patil. His rank in the Gotasabha was next to the Patil. But the Deshchaugula - an officer ¹⁰⁵ above the village chaugulas precedes the village Patil in rank. At one place his symbol has been shown as pole. This signifies his duty in ¹⁰⁶ connection with the measurement of land for assessment purposes. Here also he acted as an assistant to the Patil.

He carried the revenue collection in kind from his village to the headquarters of the Pargana. He looked after the warehouse of the ¹⁰⁷ village office and also the private storages of the villages.

It is likely that in small villages a Patil may function as his own chaugula. It is interesting to note that sometimes the office of ¹⁰⁸ chaugula was preferred to that of the Patil. This simply bears a testimony to the love for the hereditary watan prevailing during this

period.

BALUTEDARS.

Besides the village and pargana officials who held land in the village and served as a link between the village and the state, there were a number of persons who held land in the village, sometimes rent-free, and rendering valuable services to the village for its economic growth and prosperity. They may be included under the category of Balutedars, performing specific duties for fixed grain-share from every farmer in the village. The farmer pays to the village artisans at the time of the annual harvest for the services rendered by them throughout the year. Balutā, therefore, means a portion of crop assigned to the village servants for their maintenance including their fees, perquisites and other rights.

The names of balutedars are found in many mahazars. Their number has been mentioned as twelve in some mahazars, but actually we find sometimes less and sometimes more than this figure. Shete-mahājan, carpenter, mahar, joshi, gurav, washerman, potter, barber, thakur, these are the common names in many mahazars.

These balutedars can be roughly divided into four classes, such as :

(i) village artisans and professionals. Carpenter, potter, blacksmith, barber, washerman, shoe maker and manga may be included in this group. They served the cultivators in return of the fixed grain-share per annum.

(ii) general servants, Mahār, Tarāl, Mānga may be put in this class. These balutedars were mainly performing the menial type of work. The Mahar was the village-eye, and a living chronicle of its

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concerns. Tarāl was the messenger of the village government, manga was the village watchman.

(iii) Religious servants. Joshi, gurav and thakur may be included in this group. These people were mainly meeting the spiritual requirements of the society. The Joshi was the village astrologer who read out the almanac to the villagers, the gurav was the priest of the village temples and the Thakur was a family priest among certain tribes of shudras.

(iv) Other servants. In this group we shall include Shete-mahajan, goldsmith or potdar and Mulana. Shete-mahajan was looking after the pent of the village, potdar was in charge of assaying the coins, and Mulana was doing the teaching work, as well as looking after the mosque and the burial ground.

In addition to these regular balutedars, we often find several other names of artisans and professionals mentioned in the mahajars such as oil-man, copper-smith, painter, metal-worker, dhanger i.e. shepherd, tamboli, i.e. pan dealer, weaver etc. But they were not mentioned under the title balutedars. Perhaps their services were not as essential as those of the balutedars proper, but their presence was sought in some cases decided by the village council. They were sometimes called Alutas.

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As regards the share of the balutedars, we do not have any proof in our records. Perhaps their shares were determined by immemorial custom and the cultivators were paying them ungrudgingly.

But a document of a later period i.e. the Peshwa period describes

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the share of each balutedar. The balutedars are divided into three ranks known as kaās. The higher kaās includes carpenter, cobbler, mang and mahār and its share is 40 sheaves per paeen i.e. 1/4 of a chavar.

The middle kaās includes potter, barber, washerman and blacksmith with a share of 20 sheaves per paeñ. Lastly the lower kaās consisting of joshi, gurav, goldsmith and mulanā getting 10 sheaves per paeñ.

The balutedars attended the meetings of the village council and expressed their approval of the decision of the village council by affixing their signatures or thumb impressions against their names. Every balutedar had his own symbol which was put below his signature or thumb impression. For instance, shete's balance, potter's wheel, barber's mirror, carpenter's chisel, shoe-maker's thread and pricker, washerman's mallet, guravas censer, gold smith's hammer and Mulana's
115
knife are found in many mahajars.

CULTIVATORS

Some land of the village was held by the cultivators. These cultivators were of two types : Mirasdar or Thulkaris and Uparis.

Mirasdar kunbis were those who possessed permanent proprietary right in their land. They had the right of settlement in the village and thus enjoyed all the privileges of the village communities. They were cultivating their own land.

Uparis were strangers to the village. We do not find many references to uparis in our records. It seems that they were not much associated with the business of the village council as we do not find any reference to them in the mahajars. We find only the mirasdar culti-
116
vators mentioned as Mirasdar-kunbis. Whenever the mirasdar were not available, the village headman had to bring outsiders for cultivation
117
purposes. These references clearly prove the existence of a class of cultivators in the village communities which did not possess any hereditary claims to the land. But it appears that these strangers in due course acquired mirasi right and settled permanently in that village.

Thus, we find the village community, comprising of such classes as the hereditary officials, the balutedars, the mirasdar kunbis and the uparis.

The picture of village life presented here did not essentially differ from that of the pre-Shivaji period. Shivaji could not effect any considerable change in this old pattern for various reasons. Shivaji was primarily concerned with political revolution in Maharashtra, rather than social revolution. He was preoccupied with the task of expelling alien power from Maharashtra and founding a new kingdom of the Marathas. This he could not have achieved, if he had not secured the whole-hearted support of all sections of the population.

Shivaji was aware of the fact that the Deshmukh and other pargana and village watandars were indispensable to him in creating a strong and enduring Maratha State. Both Sabhasad and Amatya appear to be very critical of the watandars and their accounts lead us to believe that Shivaji had waged a crusade against them. But once the importance of these officials in the type of village organization that was prevailing in the seventeenth century Maharashtra is recognized, one is reluctant to believe that Shivaji was bent upon abolishing the watan-system. It is true that he confiscated certain watans, but it is equally true that he did not intend to abolish the system. He created as it has been pointed out earlier new watans also, while confiscating some.

The main job of the watandars was to bring more land under cultivation and colonization. The work of colonization was yet incomplete in many parts as can be seen from the efforts made by Dadoji Konddeo in the Poona Jagir. Famines, army inroads and constant-warfare often disturbed the village economy. During such periods of distress, it was this class of watandars that came to the rescue of the village as well

as the state.

Shivaji was gradually annexing new territories to his jagir. The ryot in the newly acquired areas was usually under the obligation of the watandars, and it was difficult to dissociate them from these watandars. He, therefore, adopted the most practical line of action. He allowed the village communities to enjoy their traditional life undisturbed. He worked with them and not against them.

It is always difficult to introduce sweeping changes in social life. Social institutions which have taken deep roots cannot be easily thrown overboard. Instead of effecting drastic changes in the working of the watan system, Shivaji tried to improve the conditions of the cultivators by making the watandars aware of their assigned duties, sometimes even by punishing them.

Though Sabhasad mentions that Shivaji wrested the ryot from the clutches of the watandars and brought him under his control; it can be simply interpreted as the pious wish of Shivaji rather than actual execution of such a policy on a massive scale. We rarely come across incidents in which people have risen against these hereditary officials. It may be due to lack of political consciousness among the people; but it may be also due to the fact that the people had no grudge against this traditional watan system.

Thus, it can be said that instead of changing the old pattern of the village, organization, Shivaji utilized it to serve his own ends.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER - IIPOLICY TOWARDS WATANDARSTHE AIMS AND METHOD OF WATANDARS

It is merely a language of common convention that Deshmukhs and Deshkulkarnis, Patils and other hereditary right-holders are to be called watandars. They are no doubt small but independent chiefs of territories. The weak manage to exist by rigidly maintaining the tradition of power though decreasing from the Emperor downwards. But they are not to be considered as ordinary persons. These people are really the sharers in the kingdom. They are not inclined to live on whatever watan they possess, or to always act loyally towards the king who is the lord of the whole country and to abstain from committing wrong against any one. All the time they want to acquire new possession bit by bit, and to become strong; and after becoming strong their ambition is to seize forcibly from some, and to create enmities and depredations against others. Knowing that royal punishment will fall on them, they first take refuge with others, fortify their places with their help, rob the travellers, loot the territories and fight desperately not caring even for their lives. When a foreign invasion comes they make peace with the invader with a desire for gaining or protecting a watan, meet personally the enemy, allow the enemy to enter the kingdom by divulging secrets of both sides, and then becoming harmful to the kingdom get to be difficult of control. For this reason the control of these people has to be very cleverly devised.

KING'S POLICY TOWARDS THEM.

But because these faults are found in them it would be a great injustice that they should be hated and that their watans should be

discontinued; and on special occasions it would prove a cause of calamity. If, on the contrary, that is not done and these people are given freedom of movement, their natural (wild) spirit would immediately find play. Therefore, both of these extreme attitudes cannot be useful in the interest of state policy. They have to be kept positively between conciliation and punishment. Their existing watan should be continued, but their power over the people should be done away with. They should not be allowed to have any privileges or watan rights without a state charter. Whatever has come down to them from the past should not be allowed to increase nor to become less even by a little, and they should be made to obey the orders of the authorities of the territory. A group of king'smen or agents should not be allowed to remain jointly on the watan. After making inquiries, their kingmen and agents should each be kept in distant provinces along with their families by giving them work according to their ability. They should not be allowed to get absorbed in their watans. Watandars should not be allowed to build even strong houses and castles. If by chance there is found any one overbearing and unrestrained, he should be praised and sent to do that work which is difficult of achievement. In it if he succeeds or is ruined, both the events would be in the king's interest. If he is saved he should be given more difficult work. Watandars should not be allowed to quarrel amongst themselves. They should be well flattered. But there are established usages for their behaviour and they should not be allowed to transgress even a little. If infringed immediate punishment should be inflicted. Looking to the position of watandars and establishing every year or two, proper relations with them a king should weaken them by taking a little tribute and other things from them. When a watandar who has not infringed the duties of his station

is near him, a king should speak about him to other servants that he is virtuous, honest and attached to him, and similarly those words which would give encouragement to him. If amongst the watandars there are honest persons, it is very difficult to get servants of their type. Firstly if a watandar be a person of reliability and in addition, if he be honest, he would become like a gold flower emitting good smell. Therefore such watandars should be gathered with great care; favour should be bestowed on them, respect should be shown to them, royal service should be entrusted to them, nay, they should be kept to do important work."

Extract from Royal Edict on the Principles of State Policy
and Organization (i.e. English rendering of Adnyapatra)
by Professor S.V.Puntambekar Pp 33-35.

: फारसी शिक्का :

1632

१५८० मार्गशीर्ष, वद्य २

अज् दिवाण ठाणे देहाये ता पाली ता हुदेदारानि व
भोक्दमानि मौजे मा देहाये बिला।

कसबे	मौजे कोठवीरे	मौजे	मौजे
तळवीड		मुल्ल	माजगाशु
१	१	१	१
मौजे		मौजे	
मुढे		वेळफळे	
१		१	

का तळवीड किले पनाडे शुा तिसा समसैन अल्प देसाजी मोहिते
याचे ह्क ह्कलवाजिमा व अिनाम ब्रह्म फर्मान व छुर्दस्त हुज्ज रवा आहे कितपस
कसबे तळवीड

नस्त होन	अकरा	नस्त होन	अे टका
७	१	५	१८
अे टका	अिनाम चाकर	रावणुक बेगारा दोनी माहे	
१८	१८	२	
अिनाम चाकर	बेगारी राा महिने	जुते निा चाभार	पाने निा ताबो
१	२	१	६००
जुते निा चाभार	पाने रोजिमा निा ताबोळी		
१	७५		

तेल निा	पंचोतरी दर	तेल निा	गैरमा
तेली रोजिना	सदेगैरमाहासूल	तेली वजन	दरसदे
८४६ ३॥	होन ५	८८६	पंचोतरी होन ५

मोतरफा	मोतरफा		
दरमागास	दर मागास		
हके	हके		
माजगास	मौजे अल		
नस्त होने	करा १	नस्त होने	करा १
५	अ टका	४	अ टका
	१		१
अनाम चाक	राबुणूक बेगारी	अनाम चा	राबुणूक बेगारी
१	दोनी माहे	१	दोनी माहे
	१		१
जुते निा	तेल निा तेली	जुते निा	तेल निा तेली
चाभार	सालीना वन	चाभार	
१	६	१	६
गैरमा	मोतरफा	पाने निा	गैर मा बा
पंचोतरी	दर मागास	ताबोली	पंचोतरी होने
दर सदे	हके	६००	५
होने ५			
पाने निा	मोतरफा		
ताबोली	दर मागास		
६००	हके		
मौजे वेफठे	मौजे मुठे		
नस्त होने	करा	नस्त होने	करा १
४	अ टका	५	अ टका
१ हक	१		१
१ होनेट्टी			

अिनाम चाकर १८	तेल निगा तेली ८८ ५	तेल निगा तेली ८८ ८	पाने निगा ताबोली १२००
पाने निगा ताबोली ५००	जुते निगा चाभार १	पंचोतरी वा गैरमा दरसदे होन ५	अिनाम चाकर १८
पंचोतरी वा गैर मा दर ५	बेगारी राा दोनी २	जुते निगा सदे होन १	बेगारी दमाले माहे चाभार २
		मोतरीका दर मागास हके	

याणे प्रमाणे आदा करीत जाणे सदरहू पैकी जे चालते ते चालवणे जे चालत नाही तेहि साल माा किले करून देवणे याचा हकासी जेचे अजूर न करणे तालीक लेहून घेऊन असल मिसेली देसाजी मजबुराचे मुतालिकासी दीजे माा

तेरीख १५ माहे रजिलोकल

न
फारसी शिक्का

This unpublished document of the year 1658 is from the Mohite family of Talbid near Panhala. It is true that Shivaji did not possess the Panhala territory in 1658, yet the rights and perquisites of the Desai mentioned in this document did not materially differ from the rights and perquisites of the hereditary officials of Shivaji's territory discussed elsewhere. This document illustrates the various rights and perquisites of the hereditary officials.

CHAPTER - IITHE VILLAGENOTES

1. Compare Goodine p. 4
2. This has been described as kali and Pandhari in
Marathi papers - See Gaogada P.1; S.C.S. 8: 26
3. Rajwade Vol. 15 p. 274
Goodine writes "where two brothers or shareholders patels could
not agree, they were sometimes, it appears allowed to divide the
village between them and separate .. this explains the term budruk
i.e. greater and khurda i.e. less". - P.7
4. Rajwade Vol. 15 - p.274
5. P.D. 31: 41
6. S.C.S. 5: 876
7. Compare Grant Duff Vol. I p.28
8. Rajwade Vol. 20: p.107
9. S.C.S. 7 : 21
10. S.C.S. 9:8, 34, 40
Raj. 15 : 271
11. S.C.S. 4 : 699
S.C.S. 2 : 356
Raj. 20 : 54
S.C.S. 5 : 959
12. S.C.S. 7 :21
13. Rajwade Vol. 18 : 27
see also Marāthekalin Samāj Darshan p.9
14. S.C.S. 3 : 427

15. S.C.S. 4 : 692,
Raj. 16 : 22
Bavada Daftar I : 9
16. S.C.S. 3 : 427
17. S.C.S. 3 : 427
18. Rajwade Vol. 18 : 33
Vol. 20 : 31
19. S.C.S. 2 : 220, 249; S.C.S. 3 : 578, 586
20. Raj. 20 : 10, 237
Raj. 21 : 2, 3 . S.C.S. 1 : 39 ; S.C.S. 3 : 584.
21. SP 2 : 1654
~~S.C.S. 1 : 39~~
~~S.C.S. 3 : 584~~
22. Rajwade Vol. 8 : 21
23. Rajwade Vol. 16 : 2,3,4,19
Vol. 15 : 279
SP. Vol. 1 : 515
SP. " III 2448, 2593.
24. Sabhasad p. 27
25. Sabhasad Pp. 26-27
26. See Appendix I
27. S.C.S. 3 : 426
Rajwade Vol. 8 : 30
" " 15 : 270
28. Rajwade Vol. 17 : 9,10,17,
SP Vol. 3 : 2739
29. P.D. 31 : 18
30. P.D. 31 : 38
Rajwade Vol. 21 : 6
S.C.S. 6 : 114.
31. S.C.S. I - 49, 55; S.C.S. 2 : 93, Raj. 15 : 378
32. HWK 9 : 332
33. S.C.S. 2 : 292
" 4 : 721

34. HWK 9 : 52

35. S.C.S. 2 : 104

36. Rajwade Vol. 18 : 12, 26; S.C.S. 1 : 39

37. Rajwade Vol. 15 : 340

38. Rajwade Vol. 18 : 27

39. S.C.S. 3 : 567

40. S.C.S. Vol. I - 26

41. Compare Wilson :

" The headman of the village who has the general control of management of the village affairs is head of the police and exercises, to a limited extent, the functions of a magistrate". P.40

42. S.C.S. 2 : 95

43. S.C.S. 3 : 611

44. Tukaram, Abhang Nos. 676, 3881.

कोपला पाटील गांवचे हे लोक : आता घाली मीक कोण मज :: ६७१ ::

आतां काय सावे कोणीकडे जावे : गांवात रहावे कोण्या बडे ::१::

कोपला पाटील ये गांवच्या लोका : आतां मज मीक कोण घाली ::१८८१ ::

45. P.D. 31, 32

46. Rajwade Vol. 17 : 20

47. S.C.S. 2 : Pp. 120; 137; S.C.S. 3 : 627

48. S.C.S. 2 : 98

Please refer to S.N.Joshi's article on Patilki

watan published in B.I.S.M. year 13th Vol. 3 or Marathekalin Samaj Darshan by Joshi Pp. 4-15.

49. S.C.S. 2 : 104

3 : 627

50. S.C.S. 2 : 98
S.C.S. 3 : 627
Rajwade Vol. 15 : 271
51. S.C.S. 2 : 98
52. S.C.S. 2 : 249
53. S.C.S. 1 : 55
54. Altekār - P. 13
55. RVK 9 : 332
56. PD 31 : 24
S.C.S. V. 975
57. SP. III - 2610
58. SP. III - 2592; Raj. 18 : 19
59. S.C.S. I - 28
60. S.C.S. I : 29,30
61. S.C.S. I : 31
SP III - 2382
62. Raj. 18: 23
63. SP III : 2610
64. S.C.S. IV : 692; Raj. 18 : 23
65. SP. III - 2725
66. SP. III , 2382
67. S.C.S. I ; 29
III : 470
68. S.C.S. IV - 692
SP III : 2725
69. SCS. IV 692
Raj. 15 : 270
70. S.C.S. IV , 692
71. Rajwade Vol. 15 : 270
72. Āngrekālīn patravyavahār No.3
BISM Quarterly shak 1369-70 p. 8

73. PD. 31 : 24; Jabata - a schedule; a describing statement.
74. PD. 31 : 24
75. S.C.S. IV. 692
76. S.C.S. 1 : 31 : This document describes many rights and perquisites of the Kulkarni.
77. Dr. Sen P. 86
78. Goodine P. 11
79. S.C.S. 4 : 692
80. S.C.S. I : 31
" IV : 692
81. Rajwade 15 : 45
16 : 21
82. Rajwade 15 : 340
S.C.S. I : 45
83. Raj. 16 : 28
84. Rajwade 15 : 60
85. Rajwade 15 : 276
86. Rajwade 16 : 28
87. S.C.S. III - 611
88. Aitihasik Sanskeerna Sachitya Vol. I - 70
89. PD. 31 : 55
90. Rajwade 21 : 6
PD. 31 : 55
91. Rajwade 21 : ~~55~~ 6.
92. Rajwade 21 : 6
PD. 31 : 55
93. PD. 31 : 78
94. Rajwade 21 : 6
95. Rajwade 16 : 22, (p.39)
96. PD. 31 : 78
97. Compare Rajwade Vol. 21 : 6 and P.D. 31 : 55, 78.

98. Compare Elphinstone P. 29
99. S.C.S. 1 : 8
Rajwade 20 : 55
100. S.C.S. III : 611
101. Rajwade 15 : 442
17 : 21
102. Tāṅk (तण्क) - a weight according to some, of one Tola according to others of nine masas; according to others of four masas.
103. Rajwade Vo. 20 : 175
describes the perquisites of the Deshmukh.
104. Rajwade 20 : 44
105. S.C.S. 2 : 203
106. Raj. 15 : 13
107. Raj. 15 : 241
108. Raj. 15 : 381
109. Raj. 15 : 44
110. Wilson
111. S.C.S. 3 : 427.
7 : 43
Rajwade : 15 : 271
112. Goodine P. 11 - Compare Grant Duff p. 30-31 footnote.
113. Ibid.
114. BISM Quarterly of 1949-50 Volumes 1,3,4 together.
115. Rajwade 15 : 13
S.C.S. 3 : 427, 637.
S.C.S. 4 : 692
S.C.S. 7 : 41
116. S.C.S. 3 : 427
117. Rajwade 18 : 33.

Chapter III

LAND

CHAPTER - III.LAND

The villagers usually lived together in a part of the village set apart for dwelling and habitation. The entire area so reserved was not always built upon. New comers were allotted land to build their houses on the unoccupied portions in this area. The rest of the land could be primarily divided into arable land and waste land. The waste land included pastures for grazing as well as common land set apart for village fairs or markets. As the King's revenue increased with the increase in land under cultivation, the villagers i.e. Mirasdars and outsiders Uparis seem to have been encouraged to extend the area of cultivation, and reclaim what was once regarded as waste land. Mirasdars were peasant proprietors and Uparis were tenants or farmers having no right of occupancy.

The King was supposed to be the ultimate owner of all land. But land had to be exploited and brought under cultivation, and gradually cultivators came to acquire ownership of land they cultivated or ownership was conferred upon them. Thus the Mirasdars or peasant proprietors held most of the village land, and all the land which did not belong to the Mirasis belonged to the government or to those whom government had assigned it. The cultivated land belonging to government was always let out to the Uparis i.e. tenants or farmers, for a certain period. This in its turn created another title primarily to the right of collection and appropriation of land revenue. Village land was thus sometimes divided into Khālisāti i.e. the land revenue of which was paid into the King's treasury, and 'ināmāti' i.e. the land revenue of which was allotted to be appropriated, by various functionaries in

lieu of direct recompense by the state or the King.⁵ Land held in virtue of office was styled as watan.

The land in certain villages of Shirval pargana was divided in this manner and the holders of inam land were Mokadam, kulkarni, Pade-⁶war, Deshmukh and Deshkulkarni were all of them hereditary officials. It appears that between them they held 20% of the total land under⁷ cultivation.

It must be remembered that the inamdars did not dispossess the actual cultivators of their rights. These cultivators paid the land revenue like everyone else in the village and it did not in any way affect their own rights, if those who collected the land revenue appropriated the whole or a part of it to their own use.

Among the inamdars there were impersonal holders as well, such as religious bodies or institutions which employed cultivators to till the land in their possession. The land revenue from a piece of land was sometimes assigned for the maintenance of a place of religious worship or for the performance of a religious service. The grant was to a temple, or a mosque, or a Math or a Samadhi of a saint and as such, it could be distinguished from grants made to persons. This type of inam⁸ has been referred to as Devasthan inam. Here the revenues of the inam land were dedicated to the support of the temple. These lands were not transferable in any way either by the village or the persons attending on the village temples or other institutions. These persons used their share of the income from the land for meeting the expenses of the temple or math and for their own support. They seem to have a title to the fruits of land.

The temple of Dnyāndeo at Ālandi received a piece of land from Shivaji, the income of which was devoted to the maintenance of the

9
 temple. The Kazi of Indapur received three chavars of land for the
 10
 maintenance of the mosque. Shivaji confirmed an inam granted by Malik
 11
 Ambar to Abdulla, the Khidmatgar of the mosque of Bambavada. Sabhasad
 also mentions that Shivaji granted land and allowances to both Hindu
 12
 and Muslim saints' shrines.

Ramdas had received a good estate from Shivaji for the maintenance
 13
 of his Math at Chaphal. Maunibawa of Patgaon also received similar
 14
 grants for his math. The Math of Sadanand at Nimba, of Moraya Gosavi
 15
 at Chinchavad are instances ^ain point. The Samdhi of Sopandeo at Sasavad
 16
 received a grant of land for its maintenance.

Another type of religious grant was made for the performance of
 religious services. A Brahmin performing pooja to a deity received
 17
 thirty bighas of land for his maintenance. The Gosavi of Jejuri received
 twelve rukas of land (i.e. 30 bighas) from the State for a similar
 18
 purpose. We find several references to yearly grants called Warshaganas
 for religious services, meditation, learning of vedas etc. These warsha-
 19
 sanas were religious or charitable pensions paid either from the royal
 treasury or by grants on the revenues of the Mahals.

Land was also held as Agrahar Inam. We find a list of Brahmins
 20
 holding the entire land of the village Shivapur as Agrahar land. Tulapur
 21
 was another Agrahar village of this period. Sometimes these Brahmins
 were exempted from all taxes. In that case the village described as
 22
 Sarva-agrahar. We find Shivaji giving a village in Inam to one Brahmin
 23
 of Poona.

Inams could again be distinguished as Sanad inams and customary
 inams, on the basis of title-deeds or customary rights of the individual
 or the institution. The inam where a title-deed can be produced has
 24
 been styled as Sanadi-inam. It was a grant emanating from the ruling

power of the time, free from all government exactions, in perpetuity, and validified by Sanad, or official deed of grant. It may be granted sometimes with a reservation of a half, a third or a fourth of the Government claim known as inām nimāi, inām-tijāi and inām-chauthāi.²⁵

This class of inams is referred to as Diwān Nisbat ināms as well. We can include under this all the inams created or confirmed by the king by a sanad or firman. When it was absolutely necessary, Shivaji created new watans by granting rent-free land under various circumstances. Bālaji Avaji Chitnis was rewarded for his loyalty; Babaji Deshmukh of Kanadkhore for his assistance. Ramchandra Nilkantha got the Sabnisai Watan. Bakaji Pharzanda, his loyal servant received Patilki watan from him. The king sometimes granted an inam land to the daughter of a faithful servant of the state and this has been referred to as "dudbhat-inām". Being pleased with the services of a kulkarni, Jijābāi had granted an Inam of one chavar to his wife. A Mahār was rewarded for his service by an inam land. Rajpādhye, a brahmin of Satara, received one chavar land on the day of sun eclipse as donation. A prostitute also received inam land.

Whenever there was any change in the administration, the holders of inam land used to approach the new ruler and get their names confirmed or renewed. The new ruler, having gone through all the evidence presented to him, issued a new sanad to the inam holder and thus continued the possession of the land in his family. We find Shivaji continuing the old inams by his orders. He ordered the Subhedar and clerks of Maval Pargana to continue the Sirpātilki of Shivare Patil. He recognised the rights of an adopted son to the Kulkarni and Jyotish watan and issued an order accordingly to the officers of Poona pargana. He continued the Deshmukhi watan of Silimbkar of Gunjanmaval. The Deshmukhi watan of the

Sardesai of Dabhol was restored to him after carefully examining his
 38 case. The Deshmukh of Rohidkhore had joined hands with Shivaji's enemy during Afzalkhan's invasion. When Afzalkhan was defeated, the Deshmukh thought Shivaji would not allow him to stay in the pargana and enjoy the watan. But Shivaji wrote to him that he should return to his pargana
 39 and enjoy his perquisites without keeping any fear or misgiving.

A special class of inams is sometimes found in some villages where the cultivators allow a village artisan or labourer to cultivate a piece
 40 of land - usually waste land reclaimed, - without paying any land revenue themselves. This was done in exchange for the right which the particular village labourer or the artisan had to a part of the village produce. We find in our records, certain lands in a village described
 41 as Tikanāti Begāri. It means land given to certain people in a village for definite services without remuneration. These lands could be mortgaged but not sold and were resumable by the village for failure of service.

Wilson calls this inam as inam māvali and states that this is more common in the maval or hill country, than in the Desh or Country
 42 above the Ghats. This is sometimes described as Dehāngi inams. These are numerous but limited assignments to a variety of village artificers and servants, musicians, dancers, and the families of individuals who
 43 had lost their lives in the service of the state or village.

These inams are included under the category of Gaon Nisbat Inam. This class includes those lands which were granted rent-free by the village out of its own lands, the loss or deduction thence accruing
 44 to the Government being made by the village community.

As the king was the ultimate owner, land reverted to the King
 45 when no one had a title. We have to remember, however, that the title

could as well reside in an adopted son. Reversion could take place very seldom probably in the case of a sudden death. This reversion was clearly based on failure of the title and if at any time a claimant⁴⁶ made good his title, the king released the land. Before releasing the property, the king verified whether the claimant to the property was real. A claim of an illegitimate son of a patil was turned down on the ground that an illegitimate son was not entitled to enjoy the⁴⁷ patilki watan.

It could be said that in his exercise of his right, the king acted on behalf of the community to safeguard the economy by securing that all arable land was actually cultivated. Of course, he also safeguarded thereby the payment of the land-revenue due to him for the land.

The inams were created by the ruler or by the community. Again the ruler could terminate a title for failure to perform the duties or the functions with which the grant was associated. Shivaji confiscated the watan of Desh⁴⁸kulkarni of Poona as he had joined hands with the Mughals. He had also confiscated the watans of Deshmukh and Desh-kulkarni of Muthekore taraf. But whenever such confiscations were effected, the land holder used to receive fixed amount annually from⁴⁹ the state for his rights attached to that land. A similar action was⁵⁰ taken against the Jedhe Deshmukh of Rohidkore. The watan of the patil⁵¹ of Ranje was appropriated by the state for his misbehaviour.

Here there was no confiscation of the title to the land as such. The cultivators were not disturbed in their holdings just as in the case of reversion of title to the king for failure of heirs; here again the ruler could review his own or his officers' orders in these matters and continue the grant if he pleased. The Deshmukh of Rohidkore, whose watan was appropriated, got his watan back with all perquisites attached

52
to it. When Nirāji Pandit assured him that the Deshkulkarni of Poona
53
would serve the state loyally, Shivaji agreed to continue his watan.

The overriding interest of the villagers in the land is amply demonstrated by the fact that the conferment of an inam involving performance of official functions in a village was subject to the approval of the villagers. We find Shivaji refusing to force a patil on a village
54
where the villagers were not prepared to accept him. We find in our records, a village conferring the office of Kulkarni on a person and then seeking the approval of the king. The king then simply issued an
55
order thus ratifying the decision of the villagers.

When new territories were added - and Shivaji was busy all his life doing this - the ruler did not disturb the cultivators who continued living in the village. His main anxiety was to try to replace such cultivators as might have fled from the village leaving their lands uncared for. Instructions were given to the village officials to secure either the return of the old cultivators to move into the village to assume agricultural operations on the deserted lands or to induce new
56
persons to settle in such villages. The village officials were authorised to offer all sorts of inducements including advances for purchase of seeds and implements for making it possible for the newcomers to
57
perform their duties satisfactorily.

Of course, the newly arrived in a village were looked upon as strangers by the rest of the village. Their descendants, however, had no difficulty in blossoming forth as Mirasdars when they acquired the
58
title by inheritance.

Elphinstone in his 'Report on the Territories Conquered from the Peshwa' mentions two types of land tenures prevailing in Maharashtra, namely Mirasi and Upari. He writes, " All the land which does not

belong to the mirasis belongs to Government, or those to whom Government has assigned it ... The cultivated land belonging to Government except some parts which it keeps in its own hands, to be managed by the Mamlatdars was always let out to uparis, who had a lease; with the⁵⁹ expiration of which their claim and duties expired. Elphinstone further states that an upari could become a Mirasdar by paying a 'nazar' (registration fee) to the ruler or his representative. During the period under⁶⁰ review, land was secured by paying 'nazarānā', or 'sherni'.⁶¹

The cultivators as well as the ināmdars could sell their title to⁶² the land or their title to the land revenue. Loans were raised against the security of such titles both by the cultivators as well as the⁶³ inamdars. The village officials could sell their title to the collection of land revenue with the consent of the villagers alone, who thus secured that those who were to hold power over them were acceptable to them. All the villagers participated in the sale of the kulkarni watan⁶⁴ of Kavathe. The inamdar could dispose of his inam wholly or partly whenever he was in need. During the period of famine of 1630-31, several⁶⁵ inam land holders sold their lands for a very low price. A patil sold⁶⁶ half of his land with perquisites for hundred hons. Sometimes the Patil had to pledge a part of his watan as security against the advances he⁶⁷ had received from the state.

Though land was in good demand, it was not easy to sell it as there were many impediments to free sale and purchase. Sometimes it was very difficult to find a buyer, particularly for the inam land. A patil, who was dying of starvation, decided to dispose of his piece of inam land, but nobody was prepared to buy it unless he brought the consent of those who were concerned with that property as well as that of the

villagers. The Patil had to spend nearly 275 hons for getting the
 68
 consent of all.

Shivaji had purchased the Patilki watan of a village in Mosekhore
 69
 and then conferred it on his servant Mankoji. Bakaji was other servant
 of his to whom he had sold for hundred hons half of the Patilki watan
 70
 of Nanded which he had formerly purchased from Pol, the former mokadam.

In the case of the village officials enjoying an inam, the sale
 or the mortgage of the inam resulted in the transfer of the right to
 71
 perform the functions connected with the inam.

Sometimes land was donated by a private person to another to mark
 some occasion. This involved the transfer of the title to that land to
 the donee. We find a person donating a piece of land to a Brahmin to
 72
 mark the death of the donor's father.

The procedure for transferring the watan was a simple one. The
 person surrendering the watan had to execute a document called 'yajit -
 patra' or 'Rajināma' mentioning the reasons thereof in the presence
 73
 of the prominent villagers.

We find several cases of purchase and sale of inam lands, however,
 it appears that the general belief was that as far as possible watan
 land should not be sold or purchased. Pralhad Nirāji, the Nyāyādhish
 of Shivaji, had made a statement in this respect in his verdict on a
 dispute over the office of Majumdar. He stated that nobody should pur-
 chase the watan, no watandar should sell it, those who purchased it,
 should be punished and fined. The watandar selling his watan should be
 74
 warned strongly.

The purpose behind this policy, it appears, was to maintain the
 dignity of the watan and thus prevent it from becoming an ordinary

commodity which could be bought and sold at anytime in the market.

The Marathas attached much importance to their watan. To retain
the title to the land, the landholder was prepared to undergo all sorts
75
of ordeals. Occasionally we come across disputes about the title to the
land or the claim to an inam. A large number of disputes in the period
76
under review were mainly arose out of these claims to lands.

Like the land itself, an inam was inherited by all the sons and
in the event of failure of male issue, all the successors entitled
thereto. We find thus inams partitioned among brothers just as land
77
was divided among all the brothers.

CHAPTER - IIILANDNOTES

1. In Marathi papers this has been referred to as "Pandhari" Gaogāda Ch. I, S.C.S. 8 : 26.
2. We find in Marathi papers the two terms 'vasati' and 'Gaothan' used to signify the land under habitation and the village site respectively.
3. S.C.S. 8 : 84
4. Elphinstone p. 279
5. Rajwade 20, : 55
6. Rajwade 20 : 55, 56, 57.
7. Ibid.
8. Compare Adnyapatra Chapter VII:
^b To give a gift of land for the purpose of maintenance of Dharma is an act of eternal merit ... Villages or land should be granted to great temples where divine presence is felt, to hermitages of saints, to places of Samdhi, where for the purpose of worship, offerings, pilgrimages and other things distribution of food is regularly maintained. " Royal Edict. P. 37
9. P.D. 31 : 31
10. S.P. 3 : 2459 2548
11. P.D. 31 : 18, 19
12. Sabhasad p. 27
13. Itihas Manjari p. 95-97
14. S.C.S. 4 : 733-41
15. Rajwade Vol. 15 : Nimba Sadanand Pp. 132-176

S.C.S. 3 : 509,515,517 etc.

16. S.P. 2 : 1421

17. Rajwade 21 : 74

18. S.C.S. 5 : 994

19. Sanada patre p 117

S.P. I : 631

" II : 1333

20. B.I.S.M. ^{Q.} Shaka 1838 Pp. 139-156

21. S.C.S. 2 : 396

91 Q.B. : 19. See also Sanada patre P.147

22. Wilson defines Agrahar as a village or a part of one occupied by Brahmins, and held either rent free under special grants, or at a reduced rate of assessment. The precise nature of the tenure is usually denoted by a term prefixed as sarvaagrahar i.e. free from all taxes." p. 11

23. S.C.S. I : 31

24. Wilson.

25. Rajwade 18 : 25. 20 : 151. 15 : 122. S.C.S. 8 : 63

Compare Elphinstone, who writes, "An inam is a free grant in perpetuity without any implied condition except that in some instances one third of the rent called inam tizai is paid to Government. When it is not otherwise expressed in the Sanad an inam is, in fact private-free-hold or not, according to the above condition, but by far most commonly entirely ^{free} hold." -

Official writings P.408

26. S.P. 2 : 1654

27. S.P. 3 : ~~2658~~ 2569

28. S.P. 3 : 2706

- 29 S.P. 2 : 1621,1781
30. S.C.S. 3 : 431
31. Sanada Patre P.102. This type of watan was known as cholikakan inam.
32. Rajwade 15 : 272
33. Rajwade 15 : 392
34. Sanada Patre P.145
35. S.P. 3 : 2739
36. S.P. 3 : 2783
37. Rajwade 17n: 9,17
38. S.P. 1 : 887
39. S.P. 3 : 2656
40. Rajwade 21 : 37
41. S.C.S. 8 : 84
42. "Lands granted to the village artificers and servants, in place of dues upon the produce". Wilson.
43. Wilson P.218 (New Edition p. 339)
44. Wilson - Wilson includes seven kinds of grants under Geo-nisbat inams : (i) The inam of the Mokadam called inam pasodi (ii) Land assigned to the Mahar (iii) Devasthan, (iv) Inam Mawali (v) Dharma - daya (vi) Devateki (vii) Pal or Sut.
Wilson gives another classification as well:
(i) Hindu inams (ii) Mohamadan inams (iii) Devasthan (iv) Dharmadaya (v) Dehangl (vi) Watandari inams Pp. 217-18. (New Edition Pp.338-39)
See also Goodine P.5
45. Rajwade 15 : 270
46. S.C.S. 9 : 21
47. S.C.S. 5 : 920

48. P.D. 31 : 38
49. S.C.S. 6 : 114
50. " 2 : 220
51. " 2 : p.240
52. S.C.S. 2 : 220
53. P.D. 31 : 38
54. 91 Q.B.74
55. Rajwade 15 : 270
56. Sabhasad p. 26 Rajwade 16 : 21,28, S.C.S. 1 : 45
57. S.C.S. 9 : 55
58. Compare Elphinstone who writes, "An opinion prevails throughout the Maratha country that under the old Hindu Government, all the land was held by mirasis, and that uparis were introduced, as the old proprietors sunk under the tyranny of the Mohamedans. This opinion is supported by the fact that the greater part of the fields, now cultivated by uparis, are recorded in the village books, as belonging to absent proprietors." P.279
59. Official writings of Elphinstone P.279
Compare Goodine who divides the village inhabitants into two parts : Office-bearers and cultivators, the latter again subdivided into Mirasdar and upari. P.10.
60. Official writings ^{of Elphinstone} p.297
61. S.C.S. 3 : 576, S.P. 3 : 2563
62. Rajwade 8 : 30
63. S.C.S. 2 : 132 - See also Chapter 10.
64. S.P. I : 1256
" III : 2591

65. S.C.S. 7 : 44
 Rajwade : 15 : 413, 414
 " 18 : 10
66. Rajwade 8 : 30
67. S.P. III : 2466
68. Rajwade 15 : page 39
69. S.C.S. 7 : 56
 " 10 : 12
70. Rajwade 8 : 30.
71. S.C.S. 7 : 37
72. S.P. 2 : 1877
73. S.C.S. 3 : 455, 580
74. S.C.S. 10 : 15 - Compare Adnyapatra Chapter VII
75. Sanada Patre : Rava Divya Pp. 5-7. Kriya-divya
 P. 40, Agni Divya P.55 etc.
76. Rajwade 15 : 273, 279. Rajwade 16 : 2,3,4,19
 S.P. I ; 515
 S.P.III : 2478, 2563, etc.
77. Rajwade 20 : 53.

75.1

Chapter IV

AGRICULTURE, IRRIGATION
AND FAMINE

every member of a family had his share in the work that was necessary for getting a harvest out of land. There is reason to believe that about 1676 A.D. probably the large number of young men flocking to Shivaji's standard in the army made him a little anxious about the adequacy of man-power left in the villages. We find him making anxious enquiries about the man-power available in the Konkan villages in the year 1676.⁵ As the percentage of cultivable land was very low, nothing but hard labour could fetch the bare subsistence to the tiller of the soil.⁶ Thus adequate man-power was the prime requirement of agriculture in Maharashtra.

The second important requirement was a pair of bullocks. When in outlying villages on the frontiers the cattle were lifted by the enemy⁷ the entire economy of the village was crippled. Shivaji instructed his officers to advance money to the cultivators for purchasing bullocks.⁸ This money was to be recovered in easy instalments.

The next major requirement of the cultivator was the plough and its accessories. The number of ploughs in an agrarian economy was an indicator of the income of the cultivator. The village economy was so organised that the cultivator's requirement of the various agricultural implements was met locally. The carpenter, the blacksmith, the cobbler, supplied the necessary tools and did the repairs whenever required.

The cultivator required seeds during the period of sowing. Usually as now good quality of seed was used for this purpose. Some cultivators may have set aside such seed and preserved it carefully. Others may have bought it in the market. Shivaji instructed his officials to make advances to the cultivators for the purchase of seeds.⁹ Some however raised loans for the purpose, undertaking to pay double the amount later.¹⁰

Agriculture, it is said, is a waiting trade, - the industry of the coming year. The cultivator, therefore, required money for equipping himself with the necessary requirements of agriculture. The only source of money was the Mahajan of the village. But, as pointed out elsewhere,¹¹ the rates of interest were always high. These loans at a high rate of interest must have crippled the economic resources of many cultivators.

The peasant was often, again, at the mercy of rains. If the rains were not timely and evenly distributed throughout the year, the effect was the same as that of a draught.¹² But the cultivator went about his task in rain or sun.

The document referred to here relates to the conditions of 1704 A.D. However, the description of the plight of peasant given here, cannot be different from the peasant of an earlier period under similar circumstances. Even when, there was a death in the family at the sowing time, the peasant, as Tukaram tells us, covered the corpse and set about doing his allotted task.¹³

The cultivator had to face many difficulties in realizing the fruits of his labour. When the crop was ripe, he had to protect it against theft. When the fields were blossoming, he had to guard vigilantly all the sides of his land, and ward off the birds by hurling stones at them. With a view to scare away the animals, the cultivators used to place an earthen-pot, white washed at the top, on a pole which looked like a man standing (scare-crow) from a distance.¹⁴ Sometimes rats would become a pest and eat away the seeds, thus depriving the cultivator of the fruit of his crop.¹⁵

When war broke out, the movement of the troops obstructed

cultivation and sometimes destroyed the crops. Shivaji tried to mitigate this evil practice, but with what success, we cannot definitely say. When the enemy attacked during the sowing season, and if the danger prevailed for sometime, the cultivator could not undertake his task.

Shivaji's period was marked by more or less incessant warfare. Though he tried to fight as far as possible in the enemies' land, he sometimes unavoidably had to fight from within his own territory. The theatres of war in Maharashtra during this period were Poona, Sāswad, Chakan, Wai, Javali, Kalyān, Bhivandi, South Konkan, territories round about Panhala, Kudal, Sawantwadi region, etc. These wars, movements of armies and atrocities of the enemy must have rendered condition of the peasant very precarious.

The crop in such a year was practically lost. Sometimes, the enemy would let loose cattle and horse to graze in the field. The standing crops were sometimes burnt or otherwise destroyed. Many a time they lifted the cattle of the peasant, thereby crippling all his activity. Many people left their villages during such a period of danger.

Carre came across a number of villages being deserted by the people owing to the inroads or movements or fear of the enemies. He writes " all the inhabitants (of a village called Pange-tera- which must have been in the neighbourhood of Dasgaon, and on the river Savitri) had fled to the neighbouring mountains with their families and cattle, as every one along this river was in terror of the Siddi's people", who had come up with many armed boats filled with soldiers, and who had sacked the villages and burnt some ships.

The situation in Khed, 'a pretty town' in the Ratnagiri district, was also the same. The inhabitants of this place had fled into the woods and mountains to escape the ravages and burning committed by the
20
Siddi's troops.

As Shivaji was extending the boundaries of his state, war had become a regular feature of life in Maharashtra. Conditions of peace were rare. Acts of robbery were many. Sometimes the gangsters might rob the cultivators, put them into sacks and beat them ruthlessly.
21
Sometimes the cultivator was carried away for ransom.

Thus the cultivator could not get much out of his land.

But he was not left alone to face all these difficulties. We find in our records, that the cultivator was given every possible assistance
22
and efforts were made to protect him.

The state made efforts to prevent the cultivators from leaving
23
their villages on any ground. The hereditary officials were specially instructed to keep the cultivators satisfied and bring the land of the village under plough. Our records reveal that the hereditary officials as well as the cultivators were ordered by the state to make every
24
possible effort to increase the quantity of land under cultivation. The state provided all facilities in the form of reduction in the revenue
25
dues, rent free land etc. with a view to promoting agriculture.

It was incumbent upon the Pargana hereditary officials to look after the cultivators of their region during the period of disturbances caused by the inroads of the enemies. The hereditary officials were
26
held responsible for the sufferings of the ryots under them. The purpose of Inam grant to the hereditary officials was to protect the culti-
27
vator and create conditions conducive to efficient agriculture.

The cultivators did everything to protect themselves alone or with the help of fellow villagers including officers. We find in one case, where the cultivator defended his field and killed the thief. The state backed up his action by ordering that the body of the thief
28
be exposed to public view.

There was danger from the royal cattle which might damage crops.
29
The village officials were instructed to prevent such contingencies.

If the cultivators left their villages, then in addition to the hereditary officials, the state officials were also held responsible. Some times the cultivators left their lands and went elsewhere probably due to the official oppression. We find that the havaladar of Wai was transferred, when it was discovered that the cultivators had left the
30
land without any ostensible reason. Wai was then under Bijapur government. Yet, there is no reason to believe that similar action might have been taken by Shivaji under similar conditions.

The cultivator needed protection during the ploughing and sowing season. It was the duty of the officials to keep them undisturbed during this period. Even if the cultivators had to pay certain arrears
31
they were not pressed particularly during this season.

Shivaji realised the financial needs of the cultivators and ordered his officials to help them by advancing money for purchasing bullocks, seeds and other equipment necessary for agricultural operations. The Subhedar could advance money to the needy cultivators who
32
could utilise it for bringing new land under cultivation.

The Subhedar of Prebhaveli māmalā, in the year 1676, was asked to pay a visit to all the villages in his jurisdiction and meet all the cultivators in each village. He should enquire whether a cultivator

possessed all the necessary equipment such as manpower, oxen, seeds, etc. If there was any peasant who possessed adequate manpower and was capable of undertaking agricultural operations, he was given advances not only for buying bullock but also for maintaining himself for the period before he could reap the harvest. The money thus advanced was to be recovered by easy instalments according to the convenience of the cultivator and under no circumstances any amount in excess over the principal was to be exacted.

Nature of Land

34

Land in Maharashtra was then, as now, of various types. In the desh areas, dark deep soil formed from the weathering of the trap rock, constituted the major portion of land. Different varieties of the land such reddish black, light black, light brown are found in the many desh districts of Maharashtra. Red land is often found in the hilly areas whereas black and light in the plains. The soil in the valleys belonged to the alluvial type often referred to as mali or malav.

The Konkan did not possess much fertile soil. Most of the land was reddish brown. On the slopes of the hills and plateau was found the soil formed by the disintegration of laterite and trap. Black soil was very rare and we find such pieces of black land known as Shet or sweet land in the Thana district. Some alluvial tracts were found in the Kolaba district. Fertile lands were generally found near the banks of rivers. The barren land in Konkan was called 'varkas' and was of two types - malvarkas i.e. the more level land where the plough can be used and dongari varkas i.e. the steeper slopes of the hills where cultivation was possible only by manual labour. This was sometimes

described as āvat and hilly varkas land. In the āvat type of land, the stalk of the crop was replanted. This replanting was performed by throwing them stalk after stalk into the mud prepared to receive them. In the hilly land such an elaborate process was not at all adopted.

Another variety of land was khārpāt or salt-land which contained many salt deposits. The land near the coast or creek containing marine deposits was favourable for garden crops.

We do not find references to manuring as well as methods of cultivation. As regards manuring, it can be said that cattle manuring was common as we find references to flocks of sheep. The fertility of the soil was supposed to improve by the flocks of sheep being kept on the plots for two or three nights continuously. As regards the methods of cultivation, the practice of transplanting the seedlings of paddy from the nursery to the fields was quite common. Land was sometimes kept fallow in the Konkan. In desh areas a system of rotation of crops was followed. Jwar, Bajara and cotton, these crops followed each other.

Agricultural production :

Agricultural production was determined by the quality of the soil and the availability of irrigation facilities. When the ryots had to rely solely on the rains, they could think of only monsoon crops i.e. karif. In that case they had to remain contented with Bajara, jawar, nagli and some pulses.

Where water could be carried through aqueducts from the stored-up water of streams or rivers by dams, or where wells could supply water throughout the year, the ryot could make agriculture a paying business and raise a number of products like sugar cane, fruits, vegetables, turmeric, onions, garlic, which could fetch him money.

This distribution of work of agricultural operations, was possible only in those parts where irrigation facilities were available. This kept the ryot busy throughout the season. He could raise the kharif crop with the rain water and reap the 'rabi' crop in spring and even produce vegetables - a third crop throughout the year.

The village was a self-supporting unit. The pattern of agricultural production was determined, more or less, by the requirements of that village or region. The agricultural products, and the requirements of the agriculturist, determined the type of industrial organisation and professional set up of the village or region. All professions, industries and state activities were thus directed towards the fulfilment of the requirements of agriculture.

Most of the production was usually distributed in the area of production. The land hardly produced any surplus which could be marketed with profit elsewhere. Hence, whatever was produced was locally consumed; or if there was any surplus, that was preserved to face the scarcity caused by any natural or man-made calamities.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

35

The various agricultural products that we find mentioned in our records, can be classified as (i) cereals (ii) pulses (iii) oilseeds (iv) cash crops and (v) miscellaneous.

The staple crops of the Konkan were rice and nagali. Among the cereals of Konkan we find rice and coarse grains like nagli, ragi, vari, harik etc. The pulses were gram, black gram, tur, mug, horse gram (kulith). The oilseeds were niger-seeds, sesamum (til), groundnuts. Among the cash crops, sugarcane occupied a major area. Tobacco and

cotton were rare. San-hemp (tag) was produced in large quantity mainly in the Ratnagiri district, and it was used for making fisherman's nets, ropes, etc.

The major crops of Desh were jwār, bājārā and cotton. Among the cereals jowār, bājārā, nāgli, sāvā were found in large quantities. The paddy crop was raised in some parts of the Desh. Wheat was a second crop in these areas. Horse gram, gram, tur, mug, peas, beans, were the pulses of the Desh. Among oil-seeds, linseed, niger-seed, ground-nuts and safflower (kusumbā) were common. Sugarcane, tobacco and cotton were the cash crops. Chillies were produced mainly in the Desh areas.

Usually one crop was raised during the rainy season. But where irrigation facilities existed, another crop could be raised. The first was described as Kharif and second as rabi. Kharif is the monsoon or rainy season crop and it includes jowar, bajara, pulses and coarse grains. Rabi is the winter crop sown after the end of the monsoon and harvested in spring. It includes mainly cash crops.

IRRIGATION

The importance of irrigation in a purely agrarian economy need hardly be exaggerated. Interest in irrigation has been shown by the kings from time immemorial. Shivaji, too, must have followed the traditional policy of the Hindu kings regarding the irrigation of land, as that was the only method of improving agriculture and thus the resources of the state.

Most of the land, however, was dependent for irrigation on the whims of nature. This type of land has been styled as Jirayat land in our records. We often find the cultivators complaining about the

failure of rains and demanding remission, total or partial, in land
 37
 revenue of this ground.

Irrigation by aqueduct was very common. Such land is called (pāta-
 38
 sthal' in our records. Generally rain and river water was stored up by
 the villagers by the construction of dams. Rivers or streams passing
 by the side of the village was exploited for this purpose. The supply
 of water through canals, however, depended on good rains. This method
 of irrigation did not help the cultivator during the summer season, as
 the streams and rivers usually dry up.

Land was irrigated by well water also. Such land is called (mota-
 39
 sthal'. Irrigated land was known as 'bāgait'. Water supplied through
 wells was always limited. It was not always possible to dig a river, well
 or to get ample water source in every well so dug up. The number of
 wells, therefore, was bound to be small. For instance we find in our
 40
 records only three wells being used for this purpose in a village.

The digging up of canals and their maintenance, etc. it appears,
 was the responsibility of the people of that locality. Water from a
 river or a stream was canalized through aqueducts called 'pats' to
 the various lands on the border through the co-operative efforts of
 all those who were likely to be benefitted by this canal water. These
 people, must be fixing the method of distribution of water among them-
 selves.

The state, being the ultimate owner of all gifts of nature, must
 have been charging the cultivators for the use of canal water. It is
 also possible that the state must be bearing the total or partial
 expenditure of the construction of new dams or the repairs of old dams.

A document of the year 1739, belonging to the Deshpande's of Poona,

narrates a very interesting story about the canalization of water for irrigation purposes at Shivapur, a place named after Shivaji. This story belongs to Shivaji's period. Being interested in developing a garden land at Shivapur, Shivaji asked the people of that village to construct a dam on the village stream and bring the water to his fields through an aqueduct. But a big stone was obstructing the flow of water, which was later on removed by one person called Yes Patil. Being pleased with his services, Shivaji granted the Patil inam of Kodhave village (Poona District) to him. This letter, though of a later period, throws light on the construction of canals.

A mahajar of 1674, however, is of much value from the point of view of construction of canals, the use of canal water etc.

The ryots of the village Mohadi, of Dindori parganā (Nasik District) had started constructing a dam on the river Bānganga which was running by the side of the village. They wished to raise some garden crops with the help of the river water.

But the construction had to be held up owing to the complaint lodged by a person who was likely to be affected by this new dam on the Bānganga. This dam, he maintained, would cut water supply to his fields.

The village Mohadi was not fortunate to have a river in its area. The ryots with great efforts had dug up some wells, but owing to the scarcity of rains, the wells were also not supplying water throughout the year. Thus they had to rely on the crops raised on the Jirayat lands. The prosperity of the village, therefore, was dependent on the possibility of getting water from the river Bānganga.

The ryots of Mohadi, pleaded that, the river being a gift of

nature should not be controlled by an individual or village. Its bounties should be free.

The Majālis (an assembly) considered the arguments of both the sides and gave a decision in favour of the ryots of Mohadi. It was declared, after a careful examination that the site selected by the ryots for the construction of a dam, was a suitable one and dismissed the complaint of petitioner as baseless. It was stated in the mahajar that this dam would bring more water to the village Mohadi, if they i.e. villagers were prepared to exert more labour and spend more money on it.

The patil of the village received orders to undertake the construction, and the ryot was assured every protection in this matter.

The ryots could now avail themselves of the water of the Bānganga and thus bring more land under irrigation which would raise the profits of the state.

This mahajar, though not of Maratha state, yet depicts the conditions relating to the construction of dams, the village feuds and the interest of the state in providing irrigation facilities to the ryots, during the period.

Carre, a French traveller, who visited a number of places on the western coast, speaks of the fertile valleys of the Konkan. Between Rajapur and Banda, he came across, "a great many villages, always between mountains and in pleasant and fertile valley, watered by several streams that fall from the mountains and from large rivers in the valleys".

Return of the year :-

It will be interesting to note, the returns from agriculture for

the entire year. Of course, we do not get records describing these returns, but an attempt can be made to estimate the returns from agriculture with the help of certain accounts pertaining to land revenue.

The records of Rahimatpur, a kasba in the Wai pargana, for the year 1675 help us to arrive at some estimates of agricultural returns
44
for the entire year.

The total land of the kasaba Rahimatpur amounted to about 110 chavars and 3 bighas, out of which 19 chavars were unsuitable for cultivable purposes. Thus only 91 chavars and three bighas could be fruitfully utilized. Out of this total land the irrigated land was a little less than six chavars. The state was getting from this kasaba land revenue in cash and kind together amounting to Rs.4858 As.14 say about 4860 Rs. If we accept that the state was collecting only $2/5$ of the total agricultural produce, it means that the total value of agricultural production amounted to about Rs.12,150 excluding the land which were exempted from land revenue.

The rates of assessment, in cash and kind, varied with the quality of the soil. The collection in kind, appears to be practically double than that of in cash.

We get the revenue collections of certain villages in taraf
45
Haveli and taraf Baramati of pargana, Supa for the years 1695 and 1696. Though this document belongs to a slightly later period, the conditions described here were not different from those of an earlier period.

As there was failure of rains in 1696 in these tarafs, the revenue collection was much less than that of the year 1695. For instance, the Baramati Taraf of 21 villages which had realized Rs.6667 in 1695 could fetch only Rs.4119 i.e. 2548 less than that of the previous

year. In some villages of this taraf the state could collect only half of the amount of the year 1695. For instance, a village Gujwadi paid Rs.651 in 1695, but only Rs.301 in 1696. Malegaon, another village paid Rs.701 in 1695 but only Rs.390 in 1696, and a third village could collect only Rs.49 as against Rs.251 of 1695. These villages must have had irrigated lands and due to failure of rains, the sources of canal water or well water too must have dried up. Where lands were mostly jirayat, it appears that the difference in collection was comparatively less.

A document of 1679 gives us the total revenue collection of Chaul in cash (619 laris) and in kind (about 111 khandis), assessed according to the Malik Ambar rates.

These revenue collections from the various places may help us to form an approximate estimate of annual returns of agriculture, if we accept that only $2/5$ of the total produce was collected by the state as land revenue.

GARDENS AND FORESTS

The coast-line of the Konkan presented a pleasing picture of gardens and orchards. In the Kolaba district, the soil lying immediately upon the sea-coast, containing marine deposits, and a large portion of sand was favourable for garden crops. Irrigated lands both in desh and konkan areas contributed richly to the growth of gardening. The gardens and orchards of the Konkan were rich in their supplies of mangoes, coconuts, betel-nuts, betel-vine, areca-nut, palm, pineapple, jack-fruit, sweet potatoes and a variety of vegetables. The desh gardens supplied grapes, sweet potatoes, betel leaves, figs and other fruits, and vegetables. Gardening was a source of income to many

families in the konkan. Ramdas has given a detailed account of the
⁴⁷
 gardening in his chapter on the gardens.

Western ghats contained large tracts of forests with a variety of trees. These forests are found on the slopes of the hills and on the tops. The most important product of this region was the teak, and the Kolaba
⁴⁸
 "teak" was rated as next to Malabar teak. The teak timber is much used in ship-building because it is durable, and it does not shrink or corrode. Shivaji could start ship-building industry at Kalyan-Bhivandi because of this good quality of timber. Even the East India Company was anxious
⁴⁹
 to get this timber from Shivaji's territories.

The other varieties of trees found in these forests were āmbā, ain, nānā, hedu, kalamb, āsān, sāvi, jāmbul, sīsu, kinjā, pātā, āvalā, hīrdā, mahūā, jack trees, etc. Ramadas has described the various types of trees grown in the
⁵⁰
 forests of Maharashtra.

Āmbā wood was suitable for agricultural implements. Ain wood was considered as equal to teak for constructional work. Nana wood, being strong, was most suitable for house-building. Kalamb was used for light construction work. Āsānā, Jāmbul, were used mainly for constructional work. Sīsu or sisam was the finest quality of wood used for high quality furniture. The wood which was thus not fruitfully used for constructional work or for making implements or articles, was largely consumed as fuel. Bamboos served for building purposes. Baskets, trays of various types and other articles were also made of bamboo. The wax, honey, lac, gum were raised in the forest. The forest also supplied spices, medicinal herbs, āvalā, hīrdā. Leaves of certain trees were used for making bidis, while others were used for preparing baskets.

FAMINE

The famine of 1629-30 ravaged both Gujarat and Maharashtra severely. The English factory records mention that the famine was so severe that
⁵¹
 it has no parallel in the history of the land. Moreland has vividly

described its course and its effects in Gujarat basing his account
 52
 mostly on the Dutch records and travel books. The root cause of this
 famine of 1629-30 was scarcity of food stuffs caused by the failure
 of rains. Moreland summarizes the main features of the famine of 1629 -
 30 in these general terms such as the break up of family life, because
 people had to wander alone from place to place in search of food, loss
 of agricultural capital, aimless wandering, voluntary enslavement,
 deaths from suicide or sheer starvation, cannibalism etc. The worst
 of the misery was over by 1632-33, but the restoration of industry
 and commerce was a matter of years. It lowered the level of skill
 53
 resulting from the death of expert peasants and workmen.

These general effects witnessed in Gujarat were also felt in Maha-
 rashtra. But Moreland did not describe the miseries wrought by this
 famine in Maharashtra as he could not get authentic records for the
 same. His only source in this connection was the Badshahnama which
 states that the Deccan was not only contributing to the Imperial
 treasury by 1653 but was also not even paying for the local admini-
 stration. "The Deccan", Moreland concludes "therefore, remained impo-
 54
 verished for at any rate a generation".

We have, a description of the devastating effects of this famine
 in Maharashtra in our records, which Moreland did not consult.

The Shivabharat describes the evils of the famine with poetic
 exaggeration. He says that the failure of rains caused the prices of
 food grains to mount high up while that of gold declined immensely.
 Rich people could get with difficulty two pounds of kulith (a low
 type of pulse generally given to cattle) for 24 tolas of gold. The
 55
 shortage of food in some cases resulted in cannibalism. Parmanand

seems to imply that the failure of rains was brought about by the
⁵⁴
 tyrannical rule of the Nigamshah of Ahmednagar. This is perhaps due
 to the traditional belief of the people that all calamities spring
 from the failure on the part of the king to discharge his duties according
 to the laws of the land.

Again, Nigamshah was not at Ahmednagar during this period. He
 was shifted to Aurangabad or Kharkl as then known.

Ramadas is perhaps more eloquent in describing the miserable
⁵⁷
 condition of the masses in Maharashtra during the period of famine.
 Ramadas says that all had become beggars making begging fruitless.
 Villages were depopulated as some people died of starvation and others
 were forced to leave their homes in search of livelihood elsewhere. This
 was of no avail as conditions every where were the same. On account
 of the privation people suffered, a very large part of the population
 died. Ramadas estimates that only about five per cent of the population
 survived. This is probably too general a statement to be taken literally.

Trade and industry came to an end. Prices of grain soared up and
 even at exorbitant prices it was not very often available. Children
 were separated from their parents and aimlessly wandered for food and
 died of hunger. Women and children were in distress and in order to
 keep themselves alive they were prepared to accept work however low.
 Some threw themselves in the rivers, some took poison and some burnt
 themselves alive. People of means stole old shoes, clothes and utensils
 in order to keep themselves alive. At Panhala people sold their cattle,
 clothes, utensils, various ornaments of women, at whatever price they
⁵⁸
 could fetch.

Tukaram, it is said, turned to the path of Bhakti, because he
 lost everything in the famine. The famine to him was a boon in disguise.

He was a hereditary Mahajan. But he became insolvent and lost his family calling. His distress knew no bounds. He lost his wealth, cattle and everything. His wife died of starvation. The prices were exorbitant,⁵⁹ draught was severe and cattle died due to lack of fodder.

The contemporary family papers have also recorded the gravity of the situation. These papers reveal that people were selling their lands and houses for any price and leaving for good their ancestral villages. We find that a Kulkarni, in order to save himself from starvation,⁶⁰ exchanged his perquisites of office for twenty hons only. The price of grain was as high as two hons for eight seers, which compelled the Kulkarni to sell his perquisites for such a low price.

Another record tells us that land and house together sold for twenty five hons only and the amount was received by the seller partly in cash and partly in kind.⁶¹ According to another record, a priest sold his privilege of collecting his hereditary income from three villages⁶² for fourteen hons only. A village Patil, being pressed by the high prices of grains, sold his village perquisites for a nominal price and⁶³ left his village forever. Bodies of people were swelling. No cultivation⁶⁴ was possible due to the non-availability of cattle. People were willing⁶⁵ to dispose of their immovable property but there was no demand for it.

A factory record declares that "the whole land between Gujrat and Golkonda had become one vast charnel house. By 1631 the long prayed for rains had come with vengeance and spoilt the crops from which so much was hoped with the result that food prices were as high as ever ——— The times were so miserable that "never in the memory of man any the like famine and mortality happened".⁶⁶ The cry of the people according⁶⁷ to a contemporary Dutch writer was "Give us sustenance or kill us".

We thus find, that the destitution wrought by the famine in Maharashtra was in no way lesser than that of other parts of the country. The famine had an adverse effect on the village economy of Maharashtra. It upset the economic life of the village as many people had to leave their villages in search of food, disposing of whatever they had in the village.

Thus servitude, beggary stagnation of commerce, dislocation of agriculture, destruction of manufactures, loss of human labour, high cost of living, political chaos, and confusion, starvation, these were the immediate consequences of the famine in Maharashtra.

Colonization

When Dadoji Kondadeva started managing the Poona jagir of Shahaji, it was desolated country. In addition to this great famine, the wrath of Morar Jogdeo of Bijapur state, had also contributed to the ruinous conditions of Poona. Morar Jogdeo pillaged Poona to punish the Deshpande of Poona, and then it was handed over to Shahaji.

Shahaji then entrusted the management of the Jagir to Dadoji with an additional responsibility of protecting his wife and son.

This territory by about 1637 was occupied by wolves, wild beasts and robbers. Dadoji prevailed on Moro Tandeo, the vanquished Deshpande of Poona, to return to Poona and requested him to help in the settlement of this country. He induced the mawals i.e. the hilly folk to kill the wolves, beasts and robbers in those areas and promised them rewards for their services. The mawals did their job efficiently, and cleared the whole country in a short time.

Dadoji, then requested them to settle down in these areas cleared by them. He offered them lucrative terms. He granted them the necessary

legal documents required for permanent settlement. It was decided that these settlers should pay one ruka in the first year, three rukas in the second year, six rukas in the third year, nine rukas in the fourth year, twelve rukas in the fifth year, 1/2 rupee in the sixth year, one rupee in the seventh year and the normal rates i.e. as laid down by Malik Ambar, from the 8th year. These lucrative terms attracted a large number of people, and the whole region was cultivated in a short space of time. Dadoji could, then, establish a Peth at Khedebare and develop gardens and mango-groves round about.

Besides this reference in the Sakhar about Dadoji's efforts regarding colonization, we find a letter of about 1636 mentioning similar efforts of Dadoji at Muthe-maval taraf, a part of Shivaji's Poona jagir. Like other parts of the jagir, this part too was desolated. Dadoji, then induced one Deshmukh to undertake the work of colonization under an agreement. This letter refers to the distribution of land of a village, Bahuli of this taraf most probably depopulated during this period, among the new settlers of that village.

The foundations of a stable economy were thus laid down by Dadoji by his policy of colonization of these areas. This pioneering work of Dadoji enabled Shivaji to achieve economic prosperity for his state.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV

परमानन्द

अध्याय ८ वा

तेन तेन तदा तस्य दुर्नयेन दुरात्मनः :

अङ्गिष्ठरजनिष्ठोन्वैरनिष्ठाय शरीरिणाम् :: ५१ ::

चित्तस्य किराये तस्य न कवर्षा कृष्णा यदा :

सस्यं सुदुर्लभमभूत्स्वर्णं तु सुखं तदा :: ५२ ::

प्रस्थमात्राणि रत्नानि विनिमय्य धनीजनः :

कर्षकं समादत्त कुलत्थान्प्रस्थसमीमतान् :: ५३ ::

आहाराभाक्तोऽत्यर्थं हाहाभूतः परस्परम् :

पशून्वै पशवो जघ्नुमानुष्ठा अपि मानुष्ठान् :: ५४ ::

रामदास

तथापि मार्गं वि चालेना : मिहता मायतां मित्रेना

अक्ये भिकारीच जना : काये म्हणावे :: १९ ::

पञ्चकृतिकृतक

परकृतिरूपण

अतिहास मंजरी पृ. १३

बहुसाल कल्यांत लोकांवि आला :
 महर्गे बहु धाडि केली जाला :
 किती येक मृत्यासि ते योग्य जाले :
 किती येक ते देश त्यागुनि गेले :: १ ::

किती येक ग्रामे चि ते बोस जाली :
 पिके सर्व धान्ये च नाना बुडाली :

.....

प्रबंध १. अतिहास मंजरी पृ. १३

ज्म बुडाले बुडाले पोटेवीण गेले :
 बहु कष्टले कष्टले किती येक गेले :
 वीसां लोकांत लोकांत येकचि राहिले :
 तेणें अदंड अदंड दुस्रचि साहिले :: ४ ::
 कांही मिळेना मिळेना मिळेना सायाला :
 ठाव नाहीं रे नाहीं रे नाहीं रे जायाला :

.....

धान्ये माहाय माहाय तैसें ही मीळेना :
 कैसें होओल होओल होओल कळेना :
 काये होणार होणार होणार टळेना :
 पुण्य गेले रे गेले रे कांहीं च फळेना :: ६ ::

.....

बायेला लेंदुरें लेंदुरें सांडुन्या जाती :
 भीक मागती मागती तिकडे चि मरती :
 रांडा पोरांन्या पोरांन्या ताराबंळी होती :
 मोल मजुरी भीकारी होऊनि वांचति :: ९ ::

नदी भरतां भरतां घालुनिया घेती ;
 वीस घेऊनी घेऊनी उदंड भरती ;
 अग्नी लाऊनी लाऊनी जळोनिया जाती ;
 मोठी फजीती फजीती सांगावें तें कीती :: ११ ::

.....

लोक मलेसे दीसती छेरे वारीती ;
 वस्त्रे घोटरे पातळे लपऊनी पळती ;

प्रबंध दुसरा,

इतिहास मोजरी पृ. २५-२६.

फनाळगडीं फार महर्ग जालें ; बहु वीस्व तेणें गुणें वाज्य आलें ;
 कधीं देव पावेल कांहीं कळेना : कदा धुंडिल्या येक दाणा मिळेना ::१::
 गुरें वीकीलीं सर्व वस्त्रेच पात्रें : मटीं वीकीली सेवळी वोलि घोटें ::२::
 किती वीकीली जेन झारे चवाळी : किती धावळा माळ चंडु गवाळी ::३::
 किती सुखे मुखे सुप पाटया : किती वीकिले झाडुनी कुंप काठया ::४::
 किती येक जाती किती खल्लवते : त-ही केतें नव्हे काम कांहींच फते ::५::
 किती येक तवारि ढाला कटारा : किती सु-या कात-या त्या अपारा ::६::
 कितीचीच सीलेच भाळे कितीले : कितीची किती सुट घोडे कितीले ::७::
 कितीची मुद्या कुडक्या त्या कितील्या : कितीची किती आंगड्या त्या कितील्या
 स्त्रियांचे अलंकार नानापरीचे : किती धोरथोराणींच त्या सुंदरीचे ::८::

प्रबंध तिसरा

इतिहास मोजरी पृ. २६-२७.

तुकाराम

..... संवसारे जालों अतिदुःखें दुखी : मायबाप
 सेखीं कृमिलिया ::१:: दुष्काळें आटिलें द्रव्यें
 नेला मान : स्त्री अन्नी अन्न अन्न करितां
 मेली ::१:: लज्बा वाटे जीवा त्रासलों या
 दुःखें : वेवसाय देखें तुटी येतां ::१::

.....१३३३

बरें जालें देवा निघालें दिवाळें : बरी या
 दुष्काळें पीडा केली ::१:: : घृ :: अनुतापें तुझें
 राहिलें विंत्न : जाला हा वन संवसार :: ६ ::
 बरें जालें देवा बाघील कर्तृशा ::
 बरी हे दुर्दशा जामध्यें :: १ ::
 बरें जा लें जमीं पावलों अपमान : बरें
 गेलें धन ठोरें गुरें :: १ :: बरें जालें नाहीं
 धरिली लोक्लाज : बरा आलों तुज
 शरण देवा :: ४ :: बरें जालें तुझें केलें
 देवाभील : लेंकरें बाजील अपेहालीं :: ५ ::
 तुका म्हणो बरें व्रत अकादशी : तबेलें
 केलें उपवासीं जागरण :: ६ ::

.....१३३५.

Note : These are the extracts from the works of Parmanand, Ramdas and Tukaram describing the devastating effects of the great famine of 1630.

CHAPTER - IVAGRICULTURE, IRRIGATION AND FAMINENOTES

- Gaogadā
1. Golkonda P. 1
 2. Molesworth
 3. S.C.S. 7 : 50
 4. Rajwade 20 : 57
 5. S.C.S. 9 : 55
 6. Compare Sarkar Ch.I P.12
 7. S.C.S. 2 : 191
A.F.S. 1 : 21
 8. S.C.S. 9 : 55
 9. S.C.S. 9 : 55
 10. Rajwade 15 : 89
 11. See Chapter X "Interest" Section
 12. S.C.S. II : 191
 13. Tukaram - 1823, 2239
 14. Tukaram - 1149, 2239
 15. Rajwade 18 : 33
 16. Rajawade 8 : 25
 17. S.C.S. II - 191
 18. Rajwade 18 : 12
S.C.S. 9 : 69
 19. Abbe Carre Vol. I p.196
 20. Abbe Carre Vol. I p.197
 21. S.C.S. 5 : 951
 22. Sabhasad P. 26
S.C.S. 9 : 55
 23. SP. 3 : 2468



24. SP. 3 : 2690
25. S.C.S. 8 : 34
26. SP I : 905
27. SP 3 : 2468
28. Waqai P.102
29. AFS : 2 : 15
30. SP. 3 : 2468
31. S.C.S. 5 : 996
32. S.C.S. 9 : ~~55~~ 70
33. S.C.S. 9 : 55
Sabhāsad P.26
34. Imperial Gaz. Provincial Series Bombay I & II
35. S.C.S. 7 : 67
" 8 : 26
" 9 : 69
Rajwade 15 : 62, 91
Rajwade 21 : 47
36. RVK 9 : 38
37. P.D. 31 : 32, 43
38. S.C.S. 8 : 26
39. S.C.S. 8 : 26
40. S.C.S. 7 : 67
41. S.C.S. 2 P. 141
42. Itihasik Sanskirna Sahitya Part I Pp.111-113
43. Abbe Carre Vol. I p.202
44. S.C.S. 8 : 84
45. Raj. 20 : 28
46. S.C.S. 7 : 60
47. Ramadās - Bag Prakarna P.636-37
48. Imperial Gaz. Bombay Vol. II P.119

49. EMS.II P.111, 115
50. Ramdas : Bag Prakarna P.636-37
51. The English Factories in India 1630-33 Vol. P-122
52. Moreland P.212
53. Ibid Pp. 213-217
54. Ibid P. 218
55. Shivabharat Canto 8 : 53-55
56. Ibid Canto 8 : 52
57. Ramadas : See the Appendix
58. Compare Badshahanama : Elliot and Dawson Vol. VII P.24

"Life was offered for a loaf, but none could buy, rank was to be sold for a cake, but none cared for it, the ever-bounteous hand was now stretched out to beg for food, and the feet which had always trodden the way of contentment, walked about only in search of sustenance. For a long time dog's flesh was sold for goat's flesh and pounded bones ~~if~~ the dead were mixed with flour and sold --- Destitution at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The numbers of the dying caused obstructions in the roads and everyman whose dire sufferings did not terminate in death and who retained the power to move wandered off to the towns and villages of other countries.

59. See the Appendix
60. S.C.S. 7 : 44
61. SP. I -329
62. SP. I - 344
63. Rajawade Vol. 18 : 10. See also Rajwade Vol. 15 : 413,414

64. Rajawade Vol. 15 : 419
65. B.I.S.M. 1838 Pp. 60-52
66. English Factories in India 1630-33 Volume Introduction Pp.xxi-xxii
67. Ibid P. 181
68. 91 Q. 20
69. 91 Q. 20,21 See Sarkar Pp. 23-24
70. P.D. 31 : 10

104.1

Chapter V

PUBLIC INCOME

CHAPTER - V

PUBLIC INCOME

Many sources of revenue were exploited by the rulers in Maharashtra during the period under review. The Mestaka mentions mainly ¹ eight sources of revenue of the state. Our records reveal that most of the items mentioned in the Mestaka were tapped during this period. We find direct taxes being levied during this period, on incomes of persons, professions and property. A substantial amount of revenue was raised by indirect taxes, such as custom duties, transit dues, octroi, sales tax, and the excise duties on manufactures. Administration of justice brought in a small amount in fines and judicial fees.

There were several miscellaneous sources of income as well. All unclaimed property belonged to the king. The king received presents from the officers and also from the foreigners who called on him to obtain certain concessions, favours and privileges. Spoils of war and plunder also sometimes added to the income of the state. Chauth and Sardeshmukhi replenished the treasury of Shivaji to an appreciable extent. The state earned some profit from its public undertakings like canals, mints, salt-industry, etc.

It should be remembered here that all that was paid by the ² citizens was not always credited to the state. Many officials, particularly the hereditary officials, levied charges which were not credited to the royal treasury in their entirety. The portions that they kept, where authorised by the state, can be easily considered as part of their salary. The unauthorised payments can be described as mere exactions.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to describe the

various types of taxes prevalent during our period. It must be remembered here that all the levies described below may not be in vogue at one and the same time. Some of them were merely rights and perquisites of the hereditary officials, though the state was entitled to a part of such incomes of the officials.

Land revenue was the major source of public income, and has been referred to as Rājbhāg or share of the king.³ In our records levies associated with land have been referred to as Kālī, Kharif, Rabi, Bāgāit, Ghugaria, Zhādzādorā, Kadba, Bārgujār, etc.⁴ Land revenue was collected both in cash and in kind. As this topic deserves special consideration, it has been discussed separately.

DIRECT TAXES

It appears, that more emphasis was placed on direct taxation in the seventeenth century. Many direct taxes on incomes of persons, professions and property are found being levied.

Income-tax :- The deductions from the income of the various hereditary officials of the pargana or village formed a tax on income.⁵ It was a tax levied on their collection from the pargana or the village. This tax was generally styled as inampati, miraspati, Deshmukhpati or Sardeshmukhpati etc.⁶ Some of these taxes were again not of regular type.

Inām⁷ pati was an occasional tax imposed on the inamdars i.e. rent-free landholders in the time of exigency. But it appears that the gosavis or persons in charge of Maths were exempted from such levies.

Inamatī khandani was another levy exacted from the rent-free

land holders. The term khandani signifies an exaction on any pretext whatever. It appears that the inamati khandani was a regular levy⁸ collected mainly from the hereditary officials of the pargana.

A third type of similar tax was the Mirāspati or Mirāsdārpati. A Mirāsdār is a peasant proprietor. But it appears that, like inamati, it was not collected from all mirāsdars, but only from those mirasders who were making profits out of their Miras. We find that in the maval territory Miraspati was levied on the Deshmukh, Deshkulkarni, Patil and Kulkarni because they were enjoying rights and also making profits out of their offices. It was to be collected from other mirasders as well but not in the same proportion as it was from the hereditary⁹ officials.

Another feature of this Mirāspati was that it was not levied at one time throughout the state. We find a mirāsdār from the Poona taraf complaining that as his taraf was not covered by the Miraspati in 1675, the officers had no right to demand the same from him. The Subhedar agreed with the petitioner and instructed his officers to remove his name from the list of taxpayers. In this letter we find the term Inamati khandani has been used in the place of Miraspati. This leads us to believe that the Mirāspati and Inamati khandani were perhaps¹⁰ the same.

A third feature of the Mirāspati was that it was collected once in three years, from each part of the state. A letter of 1680-81 suggests that orders were given in the Konkan that the Mirāspati should be collected, as under Mughals, once in three years.¹¹ Anātya mentions in the Adnyapatra that the king should exact after every year or two¹² on certain excuses, money from the watandars. Perhaps this exaction

is the same as the miraspati. But if we accept this interpretation of the Miraspati, that it was to be collected once in three years, or as Amatya says after every year or two, then it can be said that the Miraspati was the same as the inamati khandani. The only point to be remembered here is that some areas were, sometimes excluded from this tax, and certain mirasdars were exempted from the payment of this tax.

An official document from Shirval pargana lays down the following rates of payment of the miraspati. The pargana officials paid 500 hons, out of which the contribution of the Deshmukh was 366 hons and the Deshkulkarni paid the rest i.e. 134 hons. The patils of 39 villages paid together 250 hons, Kulkarnis paid in all 200 hons and Chaugulas 14 hons only. The total amount of Miraspati thus collected from Shirval
13
pargana in the year 1674 was one thousand hons. Out of the remaining 36 hons, 30 hons were paid by the Shete-Mahajans. As this document is incomplete, we are not in a position to say from whom the remaining 6 hons were collected. Perhaps it was from the Shete-Mahajans only.

But this document, though useful in several respects, does not throw light on one crucial point whether this schedule of miraspati was fixed for that particular year or that was to be followed in subsequent years also.

However this document helps us to equate Inamatikhandani with the Miraspati. Just as a division of the share of the pargana officers in the Miraspati shown here, we find a similar distribution of the Inamati khandani between the Deshmukh and the Deshkulkarni of the Junnar taraf
14
in the year 1675.

An occasional direct tax was Sinhasanpati or Takhta pati, which was levied at the time of coronation. Shivaji had levied this tax at

15

the time of his coronation on all watandars.

It is sometimes maintained that Sinhasanpati and Miraspati are
 16
 the same. We are told that Shivaji imposed a miraspati on all miras-
 17
 dars at the time of his coronation. Miraspati as it has been pointed
 18
 out earlier was an old tax, and at one time perhaps it was collected
 every year from the same area. When the Mirasdars strongly resented
 19
 it, the state might have agreed to collect it once in three years. It
 is quite clear from a document of this period that the Sinhasanpati
 20
 was in addition to the Miraspati.

Inampati, Inamati khandani, Miraspati, Sinhasanpati, etc. it can
 be said, in conclusion were the taxes on the incomes of the persons
 holding rent-free lands collected according to the requirements of the
 state. They were not necessarily regular taxes always.

Professional tax :- (Mohtarfa) Taxes on profession have been
 21
 denoted by the term Mohtarfa in our records. Goodine in his report
 on the village communities in the Deccan says that it was a tax
 collected by the village officials from the Pandhari i.e. the place
 of habitation and the principal cesses were tithes of articles in kind
 22
 from each manufacturer or vendor.

23

Sarafi or sarafpati was a tax on the goldsmith.

Shepherds:- Sometimes one profession led to another. Shepherd
 not only looked after their sheep, but sometimes sold wool and some-
 times spun the wool to weave blankets. Payments were due on all these
 activities. Of course, every owner of a flock of sheep had to give
 one sheep annually to the watandar. He paid a tax on wool either when

he sold it or a tax on blankets when he did the spinning and weaving for himself. He paid five pounds of wool per flock, if he was a wool-dealer. He gave one blanket per loom, if he was a weaver.

Magataka :- It was a tax on weavers. The rate was a quarter taka per loom. Sometimes it was collected in kind. Khutree gave a piece of cloth; Sali, a sari; Koshti, a dhoti and Momin, a turban.

Paiposhi :- A pair of shoes from every shoemaker. Dr. Sen holds that this tax cannot be positively identified. But the publication of fresh material makes it possible for us to hold the view that this tax was levied on shoe-makers and represented the presentation of a pair of shoes both to the patil and the kulkarni.

Shahaji wrote to a clerk in his jagir that the tax from the shoe-makers should be collected in kind i.e. a pair of shoes.

Artisans :- A tax was levied on village artisans. It was called karuk. Barbers, Washermen, carpenters, goldsmiths, tailors, blacksmiths paid a tax of $\frac{1}{4}$ of a taka each annually. This class included in addition to the artisans mentioned above, priests (gurav), tarals, cobblers, potters, mangas, kolis etc.

Telpati :- A tax on the oil presser. He paid $1\frac{1}{2}$ seer of oil per press per year.

Cowherds paid half seer of butter, gardeners paid $\frac{1}{4}$ taka, and fishermen were charged $\frac{1}{4}$ taka per boat carrying fish.

Vetbegari :- It was an indirect and invisible tax. It was a tax in kind or service. It means forced labour. Forced labour exacted from skilled and unskilled labourers at less than market rates, also formed a tax on the income of labourers. It can, therefore, be considered as a professional tax. Vetbegari was a privilege enjoyed by the hereditary officials. By conceding this 'hak' to the officials, the state avoided

the expenditure that it had to incur otherwise.

36

Khum :- It means a tax on merchants. The attendants of the weekly bazaar paid the Deshmukh for permission to set up their shops in the bazaar and sell their articles. The tax that they paid to the Deshmukh was a sort of a licence fee, as they, probably, held their shops on the land of the Deshmukh. Grocers, liquor dealers, butter dealers, cloth merchants, vegetable vendors, butchers, betel leaves dealers, etc. paid tax in kind or in cash. This tax, therefore, can be considered as a direct tax on the members of the mart.

37

Pharmaish or Pharmash :- It is analogous to Vetbegari. Sometimes a person may escape actual service by making payment.

38

Hejibanati :- Hejib means an envoy. It is a levy imposed for meeting the expenses of sending an envoy. Our records reveal that the State made Deshmukh and Deshpande of a pargana pay rupees ten as the charges of the Hejib, who was sent to them by the state.

39

INDIRECT TAXES

Indirect taxes took many forms. Among the indirect taxes prime place must be given to customs duties. Customs are the duties charged by law upon commodities imported into or exported from a country. These are essentially the taxes levied when the goods cross the boundaries of a country. Chaul, Dabhol, Vengurla, Rajapur, Ratnagiri were the chief ports of this period busy with the export and import trade of Maharashtra.

The surrounding Muslim and Portuguese territories had commercial contacts with Maharashtra. Sometimes the alien merchants carried goods through Shivaji's territories. Duties were levied when goods crossed

the boundaries of the Maratha country.

According to the Mestaka customs was an important item of state⁴⁰ revenue. The term Jakat used in our⁴¹ records is a comprehensive one. It includes customs duties as well as transit duties. We find various terms used for these customs and transit duties. We get very few records describing the system of Jakat prevailing during the period of Shivaji. The papers that we get, belong either to the Malik Ambar⁴² period, or to the Peshwa⁴³ period. But we can assume that there was hardly much difference in the structure of Jakat rates in Shivaji's times. It should be remembered here that no uniform tax system prevailed throughout Maharashtra as far as indirect taxes were concerned.

Some of the documents of the Ghatpandes of Junnar belong to the period under review but they hardly deal with the rates charged for various articles that crossed the boundaries of the state. However, they enable us to understand the organization in force for collecting⁴⁴ Jakat during this period.

Loads of goods were carried by men and animals. An ox-load was taken as the unit. The rate for a horse-load was one half of the ox-load,⁴⁵ for donkey one third and for head-load one fourth. The distinction seems to have been made on the quantity carried.

Again a distinction was made between resident and alien merchants and they were charged at different rates. The alien merchants in addition to the usual rate paid a tax in kind, called 'chugi' per ox-load.⁴⁶

Another feature was that the merchants had to pay either in cash⁴⁷ or in kind, something over and above the regular tax called 'wangi'. It appears it was mainly exacted in the case of edibles and that too

in kind. It was $1\frac{1}{2}$ sher for all sorts of grains, though their prices varied. Those who brought loads of fruits like water-melons, coconuts, plantains, and other things, paid wangi varying from one to twentyfive articles. The dealers in sieves(*soṇpa*) and bamboos paid one sieve and $2\frac{1}{2}$ bamboos per load respectively. Out of one thousand sugarcanes, ten were collected and the dealers in combs paid one comb each.

This was expressed sometimes in other terms as 'Phasaki', 'Palki' and 'Sevadhāra'. Phaski means a handful of grain exacted from each load of grain. ⁴⁸ Palki means a spoonful of oil from the oil-man. ⁴⁹ Seva or Shava is a portion deducted from fruits, flowers or vegetables brought to the market as a toll or tax and Dhar means a portion of ghee or oil exacted from dealers in those goods. ⁵⁰

Wāngi was collected in kind. But sometimes payment in cash in lieu of goods was also accepted. ⁵¹

Our records reveal the following custom duties charged for various articles brought in the Chaul mamla. ⁵²

Article	Import Duty	Export Duty
Rice and Nagli per sack	12 Rukas	12 Rukas
Jaggery per load	30 "	30 "
Spices per load	36 "	36 "
Sugarcane load per thousand	$1\frac{1}{2}$ laris	$1\frac{1}{2}$ laris
Ginger per head load	10 Rukas	10 Rukas
Tobacco per load	$\frac{1}{2}$ Lari	12 Rukas
Cloth bundle (per piece)	8 Rukas	6 Rukas
Yarn per load	24 Rukas	24 Rukas
Blankets per piece	8 Rukas	6 Rukas

Article	Import Duty	Export Duty
Horse	1 Lari	$\frac{1}{2}$ Lari
Buffalo	$\frac{1}{2}$ Lari	$\frac{1}{2}$ Lari
Bullock	18 Rukas	18 Rukas
Khurda (Scrap) per head-load.	10 Rukas	10 Rukas

We come across references to octroi duties levied during this period. Octroi is a local tax collected on various articles brought into a district for consumption, whereas toll is a fee paid for the privilege of making use of a way, ferry, or a bridge belonging to a particular locality.

Octroi duties were imposed on various articles of consumption brought into a district. When goods had to pass through different octroi stations on the high way (Ubha Marga) within the district, the merchants had to produce a receipt to the effect that they had already paid the necessary duties at the earlier post. The words 'Chugi' and 'Majura' used in our records stand for octroi duties. The octroi duties charged on different types of goods can be classified as below.

(1) G R A I N S : Wheat, gram, munga, pulses, thirty rukas per sack and ruka is about $\frac{1}{2}$ of a paisa. Rice-load, nine rukas for a local merchant and 18 rukas for an alien merchant carrying it for outside market. Black gram, masur, varna etc. 18 rukas per sack. For Bhusa two rates are given. Three rukas for a small sack and six for a bigger one. Bhusa means all kind of grain in husk.

(11) SPICES AND OTHER ARTICLES : The charges were six rukas for an ox-load, three rukas per horse-load, two rukas per donkey load and

and 1½ rukas per head-load.

Saffron, kasturi were charged at the rate of 1/4 rupee per load.

Jaggery, sugar, garlic, onion, molasses, turmeric, tamrind, pepper, betelnuts, coconut-kernel, dates, etc. for all these the charges were twelve rukas per load. Ghee, honey, oil were charged at the rate of a quarter of a rupee.

(111) CLOTH AND OTHER ARTICLES

The charges for various varieties of cloth such as siti (white cloth), patav (coloured cloth), taftā (coloured ^{silk} cloth), khārā (a kind of silk cloth), musdar (a kind of silk cloth) were fixed per yard. It was five rukas for siti, Patav 1/2 lari, Ghāti (perhaps manufactured in Desh) and Ashtaputil (embroidered cloth) 18 rukas, Tafta, six rukas; khara and Musadar four rukas. Pitāmbar (coloured silk cloth for wearing) at the rate of 1/2 to one taka per yard. Portuguese Sakhalād (Broad cloth) nine rukas and Lahor sakhalād twelve rukas per yard. A piece of coloured cloth was charged four rupees and an embroidered one, seven and half rupees.

The duty on silk kada (a sort of silk) was 1.3/4 laris per piece. The coloured chits were charged at the rate of six rukas per bag; the rate for a big bundle was half-lari.

The cloth bundles of superior and coarse cloth coming from Yevale, Jalgaon, Ashti, Sinnar, Kolhapur were charged at the rate of one rupee per piece.

Home made cloth was stamped and it was perhaps charged at a lower rate when it was brought to the market.

The duty on yarn per load was 24 rukas, Hemp, ten rukas, Navar threads, fourteen rukas; Blanket piece, three to four rukas, sacking

cloth, fourteen rupees per yard.

Caps, small and big sizes were charged at different rates. The duty on a 'hadi' (i.e. twenty) of small caps was twelve rupees and a big cap the rate was four rupees. The duty on a Makhmal (velvet) cap was twelve rupees.

It should be remembered here that these rates varied from place to place, because of the market conditions.

(iv) FRUITS AND OTHER EDIBLES

Water melons, the duty was $2\frac{1}{2}$ laris for a ship-load and ten rupees for a head-load. Coconuts, jack-fruits, lemons, betel-nuts and leaves, plantains, and fish paid a duty of ten rupees per head-load.

(v) MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES

The duties imposed were as below:-

Glass - ten rupees, Sandal per cher - three to four rupees; Cambo - ten rupees per hadi; Borneo, big and small - $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ lari respectively; sieves and baskets per load - ten rupees each, soap per head load - four rupees, shoes per box - one lari or ten rupees per pair; cat - $2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees; lamps - ten rupees, plates big and small - twelve and five rupees respectively, fisherman's net - twelve rupees; small boat - twelve rupees, cart big and small : 12 rupees and 8 rupees respectively; Palanquin - varying from six rupees to one lari etc.

The duties on articles mentioned above appear to be excise duties, though the documents consulted above do not precisely indicate so. These are consumption goods and hence these duties seem to be imposed on the production of these goods.

(vi) ANIMALS AND SLAVES

Many animals were brought to the market for disposal. A duty on⁵⁶ the sale and purchase of such animals was imposed. The term Singoti is often used in this respect. It means the duty or fee exacted from the purchaser of a horned beast. The duties on animals that we find in our records were as below:-

Buffalo : varying from 6 rukas to one taka and six rukas. Sometimes two laris were exacted from the buyer; ox - three rukas to one taka, a male calf : $1\frac{1}{2}$ rukas and $1/2$ taka; sheep : five rukas.

Sometimes the charges were in the form of a sales tax. As regards horned beasts, like ox, buffalo and cow, the sales tax was 3 rukas per rupee. Teji or Taji was a tax on the sale of horse and according to our records, it was $2\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. rukas of the price of the horse. It was paid by⁵⁷ the buyer. Taji means a horse of the Arab breed.

Utpati was a cess levied perhaps on the transport camels. Vantaka⁵⁸ was a tax on the cattle. Sail-Sail, was a duty on transport cattle.⁶⁰

Slaves : the purchaser of male or female slaves paid a duty of five⁶¹ laris per head.

Salt tax:- It was another important indirect tax and was collected at the coastal place where salt was produced. Our records reveal that the⁶² duty on salt at Kudal was twelve rukas per maund. Dhanyavikri was a sales⁶³ tax imposed on the sale of grains.

Miscellaneous taxes

There were several miscellaneous sources of income exploited during this period. The various taxes described below cannot be considered as regular taxes. Some of them were occasionally imposed to meet a contingency.

Sadilwārpāti : Sadilwārpāti appears to be a regular tax. Wilson

defines it as an extra-assessment above the public revenue levied formerly by the revenue officials on the pretext of defraying local district charges, termed also Mahal-Sadirwarid, not provided for otherwise by the Maratha Government. It appears to be a regular item of taxation and it was levied perhaps at a lower rate. Dr. Altekar maintains that sadilwarpati was a comprehensive term and it included several taxes such as dukalpati on inamdars, miraspati, mohatarfa, house tax, marriage tax, buffalo tax etc. But this explanation does not appear to be correct as the items mentioned under sadilwar were regular items of taxation besides the sadilwar pati.

Kharchapati :- It was any contingent tax to meet the expenses of the state officials or for feeding the gosavis who used to stay for a while in the villages. Wilson defines it as a tax for defraying occasional public charges, extra expenses in a district, as for roads, bridges, etc. or the recognised dues of the village officers and servants. The same tax is referred to as Gaonkharcha in some records.

Varāṭakā or Lagnatakā : It was a tax on marriage or marriage procession. In our records we find a quarter rupee was imposed as marriage tax.

Patdam : It was a tax on re-marriage permitted among the peasantry. Sometimes the rate was a quarter rupee.

Housetax - It has been referred to as Ghartaka. It need not always mean that a taka only was collected from every house.

Tutpati, nukasānpati or rākhanukasān(total loss)pati, or gaonkharcha tutpati appear to be synonyms. Dr. Balkrishna maintains that Tutpati was a cess to cover some loss as in measuring liquids and clothes, etc. Wilson defines 'tut' as deficiency or difference in

the quantity of grain by the heads of grain being rubbed off in the carriage. Tutpati in the light of these explanations, may be defined as a tax to cover such deficiencies.

Kapur paik : Kapur paik means perhaps a torch bearer. It is a tax, therefore, to meet the expenses of the torch-bearer. ⁷⁵

Kamavis pati : Kamavis or Kamavisi means the business of collecting the revenues of the state. Kamavis pati, therefore, appears to be a cess, to meet the expenses of collection. ⁷⁶

Nafartaka : Nafar means a person, usually a low menial servant. ⁷⁷ Nafartaka is perhaps a tax on the earning of menial servants or slaves.

Kotwali : Kotwali was a tax raised in the city ostensibly for paying the salary of the Kotwal. It is possible that the Kotwal himself may have been entrusted with the duty of assessing and collecting the tax. ⁷⁸

Kar-imarati or Imaratpati : Dr. Sen considers it as a levy imposed by the state to meet building expenses. It may more probably be a tax on building operations. ⁷⁹

Gadchavani : When arrangements made for housing a garrison, it is possible that, labourers for the work of erecting buildings may have been collected from the surrounding areas. Their labour could not have been entirely free, but it is not likely either, that they were paid full wages. Like the begaris they must have been fed. This service seems to have been known as Gadchavani. It means, literally, temporary erections for troops on a hill fort.

Karsai or Karsai was an impost in kind (of garden stuff, grass etc.) levied for the services of a fort from the villages dependent on it. It was also an impost in kind, as fodder, pegs, fruit for the

use of a village officer on tour. It must be collected in addition to
⁸⁰
 other taxes.

Carre, a French traveller of this period, on his way to Goa came across a number of villagers carrying grains to the forts near Khed (Ratnagiri District). He writes " on the way I was surprised to meet an immense number of people, in troops of eighty or hundred persons, both men and women, all laden with large sacks of big chests, of rice and grain. They were coming from every side, and I asked them where they were going with all this food. They replied that they were taking it to Shivaji's forts for the garrisons and soldiers who protected the country side, and that all villages for fifteen leagues round were
⁸¹ obliged to take their grain there. The forts referred to by him appear to be Rasalgad, twelve miles west of Khed, and Prachigad alias Uchitgad six miles west of Sangameshwar.

These two cesses namely Gadchavani and particularly Karsari may be better understood with the help of the statement made by the French traveller Carre.

Naditokara:- It was a charge for the services rendered by the state. Tokara means a small boat used for crossing a river. It has been
⁸² referred to as Bokhar taka also. This levy was perhaps a toll imposed by the state. The Mestaka describes income from boats, ships, saudagir,
⁸³ takgal under the head 'Hasil Amal'.

⁸⁴ Karjāchi pati may be forced loan. ⁸⁵ Kapad pati may be a tax on clothiers.

Gādi Tambākhu:- This tax is very difficult to identify. Gādi means, firstly, an exclusive right of sale, a monopoly. Gādi tambākhu
⁸⁶ therefore, may be defined a licence fee charged for selling tobacco.

Gādi means, again, the village-office or chavadi. Tobacco must have been collected from the villagers in the first instance for the use of the state or pargana officers visiting the chavadi. In the course of time, this occasional exaction might have become a regular levy. We find tobacco being referred to as one of the levies in sanads.

Belekati or Bilikati or Belkati is another term which cannot be satisfactorily explained. Dr. Sen reads it as Balkati i.e. cutting ears of corn and identified it as a tax exacted on the commencement of the harvest. Dr. Balkrishna accepts this explanation of Dr. Sen. But this interpretation does not appear to be satisfactory as it does not explain who paid the tax. Bail in

'Bail' in Kannad means an open ground and katti means a raised or built up place. Belekati therefore may be interpreted as a cess for using the raised or built up place in an open ground, probably on the bazaar day.

Burden on villages :

Several levies were imposed on the villagers to meet certain, mainly local, expenses. The levies which can be included under this head are Ulpha pati, jangam pati, mejwani pati, Bakre pati, toranbhet, Dasarapati, Goakhandi, Thanpati etc. The Mestaka describes these taxes under "baje Mahal patiya".

Ulpha means subsistence or supplies (Shidha) furnished gratuitously to government officers or great persons on a journey, by the villages on their route. Ulpha pati therefore was an impost in kind collected mostly for the government officers.

Jangam pati. Jangam is a lingayat priest. Jangampati, therefore, was a tax for meeting the expenses of a jangam.

Dasarāpati : This term has been defined both by Wilson and Molesworth as the instalment of revenue which is levied at the time of Dasarā (i.e. on winter crop) or a part of Devastān allowance which is appropriated to defray the expenses of the Dasarā festival. Dasarāpati appears to be a sort of contribution collected from the villagers to celebrate the Dasarā. Dasarā bakre i.e. a goat and Dasarā kombade, a fowl on the Dasarā day, appears to be collected, perhaps by the hereditary officials, on the Dasarā day.

Mejawāni pati appears to be a charge on villagers who were supposed to meet the expenditure incurred on feeding either the state officials or the spiritual leaders on certain occasions. Dr. Sen says that it is not clear who paid this tax and on what occasion. But it is quite clear from the above reference that it was paid by the villagers whenever the state officials or the spiritual leaders paid visits to their villages. To some extent this cess was analogous to the Ulpha pati mentioned earlier.

Toranbheti was again a burden on the villages. Toran means arches and bheti means a visit. Toran bheti, therefore, means a levy on the people for erecting arches and decoration collected from the villagers at the time of royal visit or for receiving a distinguished guest. Bheti or Bhetpati must be the same as Toranbheti.

Gaokhandi, was a religious cess collected from the villagers and paid to a priest. This seems to be a privilege conferred on the priest by the state.

Thānpati or Thānepati. Thānā means a station, a military post or garrison or a police-station. Thānpati, therefore, means a cess collected to cover the expenses of the Thānā.

101

Mohimpati, Mohim kharcha, Jangapati are synonyms signifying an occasional levy imposed on villages to meet the expenses of an expedition. How much should be collected from each village was determined and then the village officers were asked to raise the stipulated amount. (S.C.S. 7-11)

Dr. Balkrishna makes a subtle distinction between Mohimpati and Jangapati the former being collected to meet the expenses of special expeditions for defensive or offensive purpose, whereas the latter was purely for defensive purposes. Bakrapati, is a cess in kind (i.e. goat) collected by the military may be associated with these war or expedition levies.

Muslim taxes :

Certain taxes which were charged during the Muslim period, seem to be remitted under the Marathas. These taxes were Id Subharati, Bakrid, Humayunpati, Kombadi pati, Bhut-pharoshi, Uruspati, Sikke pati etc.

Id Subharati, according to Jervis is a tax in kind paid by oilmen for illumination on the occasion of Id. Bakrid is analogous to Id Subharati. Humayunpati or kar-i-Humayuni, appears to be tax levied by the Muslim rulers on the occasion of royal birthdays or some religious festivals. Kombadi pati means an exaction of fowls or a fowl. Molesworth describes it as black-mailing i.e. a sort of forced payment.

Uruspati : Urus means offerings at the shrine of Muhammadan saint. Uruspati, therefore, may mean a sort of religious cess, collected from all the villagers. This tax must be muslim in origin; however it might have continued even after the decline of the Muslim power as we still find Hindus participating in such muslim festivals.

Bhut-pharoshi was an image seller. Bhut-pharoshi, therefore,

signifies a levy on image-sellers. This tax was common under the Muslims. This may have included even toys in the form of representation of animate beings. If this tax is interpreted as a tax on profession, then there is no reason why it should be discontinued under Shivaji, even though its origin was Muslim.

Mulānsārā seems to be a tax collected for paying the Mulana. Our records reveal that, in a village twelve rukas per chavar were collected¹¹¹ as Mulānsārā. We find Mulānā taking a seat in the village community as¹¹² a balutedar. It may, therefore, be argued that this cess though muslim in origin must have continued under the Marathas.

¹¹³
Sikke pati or Sikke Bādshahi. Sikkā means the royal signet or seal. Sikke pati, may be, therefore, the fee charged for affixing the royal signet or seal on any document.

Gajpati. This levy is difficult to identify. Gaj means an elephant. But a tax on elephants does not seem to be likely in Maharashtra. Gaj may be a corruption of the Persian word guz, a measuring rod, particularly used for cloth measuring. Amongst the Muslims, it was customary to change the measuring rod with the accession of the new king as it was necessary that the guz should be fixed according to the length of the hand of the new king. Gajpati, therefore, may be an occasional cess imposed to cover the cost of the new measuring rod; and once levied,¹¹⁴ it might have continued as a regular tax.

¹¹⁵
Pilgrimage tax : We find references to Sinhasthapati in our records. It was imposed once in twelve years. During this period people used to pay visits to the sacred places. Nasik situated on the banks of the Godavari. This auspicious period lasts for one year. Sinhasthapati, therefore, appears to be a poll tax levied during the sinhastha period on all, except the local Brahmans, who visited the holy places.

This paper belongs to an earlier period (i.e. 1622), but it can be argued that the practice might have been continued in Shivaji's times also.

ESCHEAT :

The king was the heir to all property for which no claimants were forthcoming. When such property was claimed by the legal heir, it was handed over to him after exacting something from him. This exaction
116
was called Niputrika.

STATE UNDERTAKINGS

Sabhāsad has mentioned the eighteen karkhanas and twelve Mahals
117
of Shivaji. But it cannot be argued that like the Mughal emperors, this
118
establishment was a source of profit to him. The Karkhanas and Mahals must be mainly supplying the requirements of the state. However, it can be said that Shivaji must be making good profits out of his monopoly of salt as well as of the sale of the various commodities collected in kind from the cultivators. It appears that Shivaji had started ship-building at Kalyan and Bhivandi as timber was available in that region
119
in good quantity. For instance, we find the Bombay Factory writing to the Surat Factory in 1672 about six small new boats belonging to Shivaji
120
and built at Kalyan-Bhivandi.

Shivaji took keen interest in developing the salt industry. With a view to protecting this industry and developing the salt ports he had imposed high import duties on salt brought to his territories from
121
the Portuguese areas. This monopoly of salt must have added considerably to the state treasury.

We have little definite information about the mercantile marine of Shivaji. We find reference to Shivaji's salt fleet going to Karanja,

122
Trombay for salt. Surat factory had received, in 1662/63, some information about the mercantile marine of Shivaji. The factory learned that Shivaji was fitting out two vessels of considerable burden which he intended to send to Mocha.
123

At another place the Surat factory notes that Shivaji had possessed nearly eight or nine ports belonging to the Deccan from where he used to send two or three vessels yearly from every port to Persia, Basara, Mocha, etc. Again, a junk of Shivaji was reported to be arrived from Aden to Bombay in 1669.
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A Karwar letter of 1669 mentions the destruction of Shivaji's ships and rice-boats by a great storm, and one of those ships was very richly laden.
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The Bombay factory mentions that there were four or five masted vessels at Rajapur which were meant for trade to Muscat and other places.
127

The revenue collected in kind was sold by the state officials, and thus the state made some profit. Shivaji had ordered his officials that when the revenue was fixed in kind, they should collect it in kind only and thus store all the proceeds carefully. These commodities, it was further stated, should be brought to the market only when the prices rose, and thus secure a profit out of this transaction. Shivaji had warned the subhedars and clerks of Prabhaveli who had sold coconuts and betelnuts at a lower rate than that of the market rate. He had asked them to inquire about the rates prevailing in different markets and sell the commodities in those markets which would bring profit to the state.
128
129

Our records reveal that Shivaji had purchased certain watans and sold them with some profits. The state for instance once had purchased

a Patil watan from a Deshmukh and bestowed it upon a faithful servant
130
of the king. He must have made something on this transaction.

The income earned by the state from crown lands or sheri lands
can be included into this category. This income was, perhaps shown as
131
the personal income of the king. We also find Shivaji asking his offi-
cials to maintain a separate account of the income from his watan
132
lands.

P R E S E N T S :-

Mediaeval custom had it that when a man approached some one
superior to him in status, he would not go to him empty-handed. A
Sanskrit maxim says that nobody should see a king, a brahmin or a
teacher empty-handed. Bernier writes 'In Aisa^p, the great are never
133
approached empty-handed.' The presents made to the king or his officials
have been described under various names in our records such as Bheti,
134
Peshkashi, Tofapati, najarana etc. Peshakash was a tribute paid to the
king with a view to getting a particular grievance redressed. We find
that the Mehtars of supa promised a Peshkash of 75 hons to Shahaji, if
he agreed to receive the levies from them in kind rather than in cash.
135
Nazarana was, sometimes, paid to obtain a particular miras. We find
the East India Company lavishly spending on presents to Shivaji at the
136
time of his coronation, as well as other times. Mestaka describes these
taxes under the head 'baje Mahal patiya'.

Fees, Fines etc. :-

Judicial fees and fines must have brought a considerable sum of
money to the state. Our records mention two main judicial fees, namely
137
Harki or Sherni and Gunhegari. Harki was a payment paid to the court

by the successful litigant. Sherni is another name for the same thing. It means a present made to Government or to a court in testification of gratitude for favours afforded or justice rendered. Gunhegari was a fine imposed by the court on a culprit.

The amount of sherni or Gunhegari was not determined according to any fixed set of rules, but by custom and practice. In certain cases of disputes, we find, both the winner and the loser agreed to pay something by way of sherni and gunhegari respectively after the decision. When the watan was in dispute, the suitors had to pay sherni to the Government if they won the case.

In a document of 1693 belonging to the Shirval Deshpande family, two items of income along with others, to be received in cash by the state have been mentioned. They are Kitabat and Parkhau (Raj. 20 p. 104) Kitab or Kitabat means a book, a writing or a letter. In this context Kitabat appears to be a fee charged for writing documents. Parakh means an examination, and parkhau means perhaps a fee charged for examining coins or precious metals. Kabulatpati may be the same as the Kitabat.

Sirnazir pati seem to have been paid by the litigants. Sirnazir was an officer in the judiciary. It seems that this levy was collected from the litigants to meet the expenses of the administration of justice in a particular area.

Phuroi was a kind of fine imposed and exacted by the kamavisdar which was not supported by law. Such illegal exactions by the officials has been described by Mestaka as Gairmahasul. It was a revenue from oppressive taxation or any unjust source.

MINTS AND COINS

A small income was derived from this source as well. A licence was required to mint coins and the licensee had to pay a certain percentage of the coins so minted. A Sheti had applied for such a licence for issuing laris and copper coins and was granted the permission to do so on the condition that he should pay one lari per hundred laris and five laris for copper coins weighing one maund. The tenure of the
145
licence was five years. We find reference to nane as a source of income
146
mentioned in the jamabandi of Aminabad. Nane here appears to be a licence fee for minting coins.

WAR GAINS

War was an important source of income to Shivaji, as he could get either khandani or chauth from the defeated and subdued people. He ransacked and plundered the country of the enemy. As Shivaji had many enemies to fight with, his probable income from war was also great and he did not spare any opportunity to exploit this source of income. Sabhasad and Parmanand have given an account of Shivaji's plunder from
147
the camp of Afzalkhan. He collected a good sum from the camps of Karta-
148
labkhan and Shaistakhan. From the rulers of Shringarpur, Prabhanvali,
149
Supa, and Javali, he got much to fill his treasury.

When he attacked Surat in 1664 he got precious metals, horses cash and many other things. Sarkar puts his gain from the first attack of
150
Surat at above one crore of rupees. As regards the second sack of Surat in 1670, Sarkar writes, "the Marathas plundered the large houses of the city at leisure, taking immense quantities of treasure, cloth and other
151
valuable goods". Sabhasad estimates the total gains from all raids of

152

Surat to the tune of five crores of hons.

Many other parts of the Mughal territory such as Khāndesh, Baglān, Gujarat, Burhānpur, Varhād, Māhur, Jalānpur were ransacked by Shivaji's
153
generals.

154

Shivaji's soldiers sacked the English factories at Karwar, Dharangaon, Raibag, Athani, Hubli, Chopadā and appropriated a lot of goods. He plundered the Rajapur factory in 1661. Parmanand has given a graphic description of the ransacking of Rajapur and the immense

155

treasure received by Shivaji. This may be considered as a mere poetic fancy. The loss of the company was, according to the Factory records

156

was nearly one hundred thousand rupees. ~~The foreigners like Portu-~~
157
~~guese, English and French paid khandani to Shivaji on certain occasions.~~

The soldiers and the officers were strictly searched as soon as they returned from a campaign and were asked to surrender to the king
158
whatever they had brought by way of plunder. Guarda says that the
159
soldiers were searched for gold and silver. Sabhasad adds cloth to
160
the list.

When Shivaji visited Golkonda in the year 1677, he was given many valuable presents. His Karnatak expedition also filled his treasury to
161
a considerable extent.

The legacy of Shivaji, as described by Sabhasad, gives an idea of the wealth accumulated by Shivaji, probably out of these spoils of
162
war.

CHAUTH :-

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Chauth was a tribute exacted from the weak ruler by the strong one. The weak paid it with a view to securing immunity from the probable

raids of the strong ruler. It was a permanent demand distinguishable from the spoils of war. Ranade considers Chauth and Sardeshmukhi together and writes "the demand for chauth was subsequently added with the consent of the powers whose protection was undertaken against foreign aggression, on payment of fixed sums for the support of the troops maintained for such service". He then compares this with the subsidiary alliance system of Lord Wellesly. But it is quite clear from the nature of Chauth that it did not extend protection to the territories paying chauth, when they were attacked by any foreign force. In fact, it was paid to avoid a particular enemy and not to secure the assistance of the overlord in time of crisis or external aggression, which was the underlying idea of the subsidiary system.

The records do not seem to establish that Shivaji ever received any payment from areas outside his territories without attacking the areas. The exactions which his armies consistently made from the areas under other rulers have sometimes been called "chauth". In reality this seems to be an attempt at rationalizing the payments exacted. The very fact that almost always army had to be sent for exacting payments negatives the idea that chauth as an institution had taken root in this period. The English records mention of Shivaji's not meddling with the town that paid him one fourth. The factory records reveal that his forces "have plundered and burnt most of these parts excepting the towns which paid him 1/4 part
165
(chowth) those he meddles not with".

This reference seems to be to the places on the line of the march of his troops and it seems likely that these sums were paid on approach of Shivaji's army in order to save themselves from his

raids. It is necessary to remember that most of these towns were mainly inhabited by Hindus. If their Muslim rulers could not afford them protection, it would not look odd to them to save themselves by making a payment to Shivaji. Adequate military forces of the Muslim rulers do not seem to have been established in most of the parts of Maharashtra and Deccan except in important garrison towns. The inhabitants left to themselves could not offer resistance and made the best of a bad bargain.

Probably the earliest demand made by Shivaji for chauth on a ruler occurred when he demanded 1/4 of the land revenue from the Portuguese after his conquest of Ramanagar. The Portuguese seem to have acquired some villages near about Daman from the Raja, who used to pay 1/4 of the land revenue for his title. As his successor Shivaji made the demand on the Portuguese who did not outright reject it, but spun on negotiations till Shivaji died.

SARDESHMUKHI:-

It is said that Shivaji claimed this Sardeshmukhi as he considered himself to be the hereditary Sardeshmukh of his country. But it is doubtful whether this claim to Sardeshmukhi was recognised in the life time of Shivaji. According to some, Sardeshmukhi was analogous to Sardeshmukhpati.

Sardeshmukhi has been defined as an exaction of ten per cent imposed by Shivaji or the Marathas upon the whole revenue of the subha of the Deccan.

We find a reference to sardeshmukhi in a paper belonging to a later period i.e. 1687 A.D. The people of chaul mamala demanded

remission in the land revenue on the ground of destruction of the place by the enemy. The Subhedar considered this complaint sympathetically and granted many concessions to the cultivators, out of which exemption from the payment of sardeshmukhi was one. It was directed to the officials that the sardeshmukhi charge was to be fixed at the time of jamabandi, but it should not be collected, and nobody should be harassed for its payment.

TOTAL REVENUE :-

It is not possible to state precisely the total revenue of Shivaji's territories as we do not have adequate records to make even a probable estimate. Sabhasad writes that Shivaji made his humble beginnings with the Poona Jagir yielding a revenue of forty thousand ¹⁷¹hons and in course of time he acquired a kingdom yielding one crore of ¹⁷¹hons. Reduced to rupees it comes to three to four crores of rupees, the exchange value of hon varying between three and four rupees in this period. Besides this regular income, chauth when collected in full ¹⁷²brought in another 80 lakhs.

Sarkar considers it as an exaggerated amount as he writes, the sum actually realised was considerably less than this paper-estimate ¹⁷³probably sometimes falling as low as one-tenth of it.

The above remarks of Jadunath Sarkar need some examination. Sarkar takes the exchange value of hon as varying between five and seven rupees during this period. But in practice, the ratio between hon and rupee was varying between three and about four only.

Again to him the figure quoted by Sabhasad appears to be exaggerated. But so long as we have no documentary evidence to check this

estimate and arrive at a figure showing the actual realization, it is better to accept Sabhasad's version. Again we have accepted Sabhasad as a contemporary source of information for other matters, and hence there is no point in totally rejecting the estimate of Shivaji's revenue as made by Sabhasad.

Again, an attempt has been made in the present study to describe the efforts of Shivaji regarding the promotion of economy of his state, and a brief resume of these activities lead us to believe that his efforts must have borne some fruits, and the revenues of the state, as Sabhasad maintains must have been increased to an appreciable extent.

GENERAL RESULTS :-

The foregoing description of the various taxes shows that a number of sources of income were exploited by the state during the period under review. No class of the population escaped contribution to the treasury. The poorest classes paid indirect taxes, and the salt-tax without exception; the artisans paid the professional taxes and cultivators paid the land revenue. When Shivaji introduced the Batai settle-
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ment in the year 1667, he abolished certain taxes but this did not perhaps, fully compensate for the rise in land revenue from $\frac{2}{5}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ share of the total produce, when Batai was introduced in some parts of the state after 1670.

The customs and transit duties were also passed on to their customers by the merchants. The watandars or hereditary officials, had not only deductions from their annual incomes, but had to make, sometimes customary presents to the king. Shivaji tried to curb their influence over the cultivators by confiscating their watans or aboli-
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shing some of their privileges.

It is quite clear from the above discussion of the sources of public income, that no uniformity in taxation prevailed during this period. They were decided by customs and traditions of the locality. The taxation in the Konkan was, therefore, not necessarily following that of the Desh. In the Sanads of the watandars we find certain phrases associated with the taxes or the collection of taxes. The taxes are to be collected according to the laws (kulkaru),¹⁷⁶ in cash or in kind (Nakadi¹⁷⁷ or Jingsi); they might be reduced to writing (kalami)¹⁷⁸ or they may be traditional (kadmi);¹⁷⁹ they may be collected in the name of a person (Ismi)¹⁸⁰ or they may be collected according to the practice (Rasmi).¹⁸¹ These phrases point out the elasticity of the tax structure.

Most of the cesses, discussed above formed the part of the rights of the village and pargana hereditary officials or public servants. The state must be claiming a part of these collections and allowing them to enjoy the rest as compensation for their services to the state. In the grants of watan we come across such phrases as Halipati,¹⁸² Pestarpati,¹⁸³ and Bajepati.¹⁸⁴ Halipati means the current taxes, Pestarpati, the taxes which would be levied in the future and Bajepati means other taxes which were perhaps not enumerated in the Sanad, but which existed in practice.

When the term tax is used, we mean thereby, a fixed amount or rate collected regularly. But here we find the officers mostly raising money according to the requirements of the state in a particular period. The amount or rate of tax was rarely fixed; the heads of income were not properly classified.

Some people enjoyed exemption from the payment of taxes. It appears that Brahmins or perhaps all persons engaged in any religious activity such as the heads of Maths or other organizations, enjoyed

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either full or partial exemption in taxes. A Brahmin, for instance, from Chafal was allowed to carry one khandi (i.e. 20 maunds) of Jwar¹⁸⁶ and four cows without paying anything for them by way of duty. A gosavi¹⁸⁷ claimed exemption from inampati.

It is difficult to estimate the burden of taxation on the people, as no uniform system was prevailing. Yet it can be said that we rarely come across people revolting or grumbling against these taxes. When wants were few and means to satisfy them were relatively more, there was no reason for the people to grumble.

This does not mean that people tolerated illegal exactions or impositions. As already pointed out earlier, an inamdar from Poona pargana challenged the levy of Miraspati on him, when the said tax was not extended to his pargana. The Government had to inquire into this matter and instruct the Subhedar not to collect the tax from the petitioner.

However, it appears, that the burden of taxation fell more heavily on the poor people than on the rich during this period. Perhaps, with a view to relieving this burden, Shivaji must have abolished or scaled down some of the rights and perquisites of the watandars, and discontinued those taxes which were current under the Muslim rulers. He relied more on agriculture, and gave every assistance to the cultivators.

कानु लाजिमा कोतवाल कस्बे बादकड दर नगे के शाही निकाह व

पैसाह व अमामार्ग.

केणे अमामार्ग

भूस दर नगे

टीक दर नगे

तुप

व निगा व पैसाह

५॥

-॥.

६६ १ दर ...

दर नगे ६१

६६-१ दर ...

सिंगोटी

म-हैसीस ६६ बैलास ६१

गाडा व बहिली व गाडी

बाटीस निमे गो-ही ६१॥

गाडियास हके बहिलीस ६६

६१

गाडलिस ६६

घोडा किकेलियास पैसाह

व निगा व अमामार्ग

कापड दर नगे

मोठा घोडियास लहानास

बारीक

घोंगडे

-॥.

-॥.

-॥.

-॥.

बटी किकेली त्यास

तेल दर जोडीस

सूत दर मणो

-॥.

६६१ १ जोडीस

वजन बरीदी

६६-१ दरमणो

६१॥ बारीक

दरमणो

१ घोंगडे

रुखी दर नगे

काबलीस दर नगे रुके ६६

दरगो ६६ बेदीस ६१

घाणा लागेल त्यास

पाने दर मारीयासी ५०

तमाखू दर नगे ६१॥

बांद व गाडीस हके ६१

लाकडान्या मोलीस लाकूड अंक १

सबजीचा मरा येगील

गोबारी गुरे राखेल त्यास

त्यास येक निगा वजन

दर माहे हके ६६

बरीदी ६६१॥

मद दर जोडीस ६६१ (?)

पाटी येगील त्यास मुठी १ घेणे

दरमणो ६६१

मादगाडी करकसाब

निबान्या भरिया (स सु)

करील त्यास रोजा

मार निबे ५

आठा बरी (दी)

सेर सवा १६१।

भूस कान् दर नगे ह्के

बारा -।

यासि कमावीस सदरहू

नगाचा पाखण नग

मजुरा देसु घेत

असेती

जिस भूस

जोरी सजुरे गहू बणे

मसूर नागल्या

भूग मठ आवाडिया

आंसी व सुरजी दर

नगी कान् टके १६

यासि कमावीस कारकीर्दी

मलिक अबर नगाच्या

पाखण नग मजुरा

देसु घेती टका १६

घोड्यासि कान्

मोठ्या घोड्यास होन् १६ टका १६

सिगह अगर यारेदी लाहान

असेली त्यास होन् -। ह्के -।

यासि कमावीस कारकीर्दी मलिक

अबर घेत असेती

मोठे घोडे

होन् -।

ह्के -।

यासि कमावीस

कारकीर्दी मलिक

अबर टका येक १६

गौ-हा असेली

त्यास निमे

लाहान घोडे व सिगह

होन् -। ह्के -।

सिगोटी

बैलास टके ११२ म्हैस कान् टके

यासि कमावीस

कारकीर्दी मलिक

अबर टके १६

वाटीस निमे

कापड कान्

बारीक नगी

होन् -। ह्के -।

यासि कमावीस कारकीर्दी

मलिक अबर नगाचा

पाखण नग मजुरा

देसु चौकडीस ह्के -।

घोण्डे नगी टके १६

यासि कमावीस कारकीर्दी

मलिक अबर नगाचा पाखण

नग मजुरा देसु चौकडीस

घेती ह्के -।

काकली दर नगास टके २। यासि

कमावीस कारकीर्दी मलिक अबर

घेत असेती टके १॥

लोहकरी दर नगी कान् टके २।

बादी हर बाबी केली त्यास कानू
 होन् ॥ ह्के ॥ यासि कमावीस
 कारकीर्दी मलिक अजर घेती
 होन् ॥ ह्के ॥
 तबाखुवे सवारास ह्के ॥ १
 यासि कमावीस स्रोत दरम्यान
 जाला त्याने कमावीस केली
 ह्पया नीम ॥ घेत असेती

कमावीस नगान्या पाखुण नग
 मजुरा देजुन् कारकीर्दी
 मलिक अजर घेती टके १॥
 ह्की दर सवारास टके १
 होनी यासि कमावीस
 कारकीर्दी मलिक अजर
 नगान्या पाखुण नग
 मजुरा देजुन् टका
 येक घेती १६

This unpublished document belongs to Raje bahadar of Malegaon, Nasik District. It describes the perquisites of a Kotwal of Kasaba Chadvad. The document is undated, but on paleographic grounds, it appears to be of Shivaaji's period.

CHAPTER - VPUBLIC INCOMENOTES

1. B.I.S.M. 1934(saka) Annual Report : Pp.38-42.

Mestaka means a book of directions and patterns for writing, or a book generally of rules and instructions in business. (Molseworth)
 Its origin can be traced to the thirteenth century, when Hemadpanta, the prime minister of Ranchandra Dev Raya of Deogiri wrote these books for maintainig systematic accounts of the state. The Mestaka referred to here is a copy of the original, and is prepared in the eighteenth century.

The eight sources of revenue mentioned in the Mestaka are :

- (i) Jakāt : Revenue from octroi and custom duties
- (ii) Jarāib : (Revenue raised on arable land)
- (iii) Bāgāit : (Revenue raised on garden land)
- (iv) Barnagjag: (Revenue from mango-groves)
- (v) Bārgujarat: (Revenue from reepers)
- (vi) Bārdasti : (Revenue from trees)
- (vii) Katubāna : (Revenue from barren or fallow land)
- (viii) Jujuyā : (A group of many items of revenue)

2. Sabhasad P.26

3. S.C.S. 7 : 62

4. " 4 : 994; Rajwade Vol.15 : 67,69
 " 7 : 67; P.D. 31 : 55

5. Rajwade Vol. 18 : 25

6. S.C.S. 3 : 401
 " 5 : 971
 " 9 : 69

7. Raj 15 : 92 (p.150)
8. Raj. 18 : 20, 25
9. S.C.S. 3 : 401
S.C.S. 2 : 112
10. S.C.S. 3 : 401,402
11. " 10 : 14; Elphinstone p.293 : Miraspati as a tax in three years
12. Royal Edict p.34
13. S.C.S. 1 : 55
14. Raj. 18 : 25
15. Raj. 16 : 2
16. See introduction to S.C.S. 8, p.4
17. S.C.S. 5 : 953
18. S.C.S. 9 : 43
19. S.C.S. 10 : 14
20. Raj. 16 : 2 p.12
21. Raj. 21 : 6,7
22. Goodine Pp. 14-15
23. S.C.S. 5 : 994
S.C.S. 2 : p.170
P.D. 31 p.19
24. P.D. 31 : 55
25. S.P. 3 : 2687
26. See Goodine P.15
27. Rajwade Vol.20 : 240
28. See Chapter II : The Village, Rights and perquisites of the Patil and Kulkarni
29. Raj. 20 : 12; PD 31 p.19
30. S.C.S. 9 : 11. - Dr.Sen writes "cannot be identified. Has it any relation to karuks, artisans ?" P.85
31. Rajawade 21 : 6

32. P.D. 31 : 104
33. Rajawade 21 : 6
34. Ibid
S.C.S. 9 : 36
Dr. Sen P. 71
35. S.C.S. 9 : 63
36. P.D. 31 : 104
37. Rajawade 21 : 6; S.C.S. 2 : 128
38. Rajawade 15 : 72; S.C.S. Pp.159,163,258
Sanada Patre Pp.22,25
39. Rajawade 16 : 21
40. B.I.S.M. Shaka 1834 p.38 (Q)
41. Paisalu, Nikalu, Avājeva, Labha, Ugat, Thalbhari, Thalmodit, etc.
See Mestaka; Raj. 15 : 416
S.C.S. 2 : 372,374
42. See the Appendix to this Chapter
43. S.C.S. 5 : 919
" 10: 6
44. Aitihāsik Sankirna Sahitya Vol.9, gives some documents of Shivaji's
period Pp. 1-9
45. S.C.S. 5 : 919
46. Ibid
47. S.C.S. 10 : 6. See also Wilson
48. " 2 : 382

Phaski : A toll exacted by official personages from the vendors.
It may also mean a small quantity of a commodity in general given
over the weight or measure". Holseworth.
To Dr. Sen it was merely a levy on green vegetable sellers.
49. S.C.S. 2 : 382
50. S.C.S. I p.64, See also Wilson

51. S.C.S. 10 : 6

52. " 10: 6

53. " 5 : 913

54. Ibid

55. This is based on the following papers :

S.C.S. 5 : 919

" 10 : 6; Appendix to this chapter

56. S.P. 2 : 1394; S.C.S. 9 : 45

Other terms used in the same sense : Singasingoti, Bailtaka,

Vana taka etc. R.V.K. 9 : 50

57. S.C.S. 5 : 919; Sanada Patre p.22

58. S.C.S. 9 : 19,58

" 2 p.162

59. P.D. 31 : 104

60. S.C.S. 3 : p.316; S.C.S. 2 p.170

61. S.C.S. 10 : 6

62. Rajwade 8 : 27

S.C.S. 9 : 69

63. " 9 : 19

64. S.C.S. 2 : 138

65. Altekar p.67

66. S.C.S. 2 : 128

Rajwade 15 : 69; Raj. 20 p.10; PD 31 p.17

67. S.C.S. 3 : 517

68. S.C.S. 9 : 19,51

Dr. Sen says that this tax cannot be identified. But it is quite obvious from the term varhād or Lagna that it must have been a levy on marriage or marriage procession. P.71

See Elphinstone p.293

69. Rajwade 16 : 22
70. S.C.S. 2 : 128
71. Rajwade 16 : 22
72. S.C.S. 9 : 69
73. S.C.S. 4 Pp.2-16;
 " 2 p.170
 " 9 : 9; Raj. 20 p.174
74. Dr. Balkrishna Vol.IV p.139
75. S.C.S. 9 : 36
76. " 9 : 465
77. " 9 : 21
78. " 9 : 21
79. Dr. Sen. P. 72; Sanada patre p.29
80. S.C.S. 5 : 876
81. Abbe Carre Vol. I p.197
82. S.C.S. 9 : 36
83. B.I.S.M. Ahaval Shaka 1834 P.42
84. Raj. 18 p.37
85. S.C.S. 9 p.44
86. S.C.S. 2 p.382
 Raj. 20 p.280
87. Sanada patre P.31, 112
88. S.C.S. 2 p.204
 " 7 p.105
 " 8 p. 35
 Sanada patre p.30
89. Dr. Sen p.84
90. Dr.Balkrishna Vol. IV p.144
91. Raj. 15 : 69
92. Raj. 20 : 209
93. Sanada Patre p.112

94. Raj. 16 p.38
95. Ibid
96. Raj. 20 p.10
S.C.S. 2 p.264
Sanada Patre Pp.22,25
97. Dr.Sen p.84
98. Rajwade 20 : 242; S.C.S. 2 p.148,264
99. S.C.S. 2 : 243
" 4 : 687
100. Rajwade 15 p.135; S.C.S. 2 p.170
S.C.S. 5 : 994
101. Raj. 15 : 67
Raj. 20 p.10,128
S.C.S. 2 p.213
Sanada patre p.105
102. S.C.S. 7 : 11
103. Dr.Balkrishna Vol.IV p.137
104. Sanada Patre P.22
105. Raj. 15 : 67, S.C.S. 2 : 267; Raj. 20 p.174
Compare Dr.Sen p.85
106. Rajwade 20 : 242
107. S.C.S. 3 : 517 - Compare Dr. Sen p.71
- / 108. Ram Ramdasi W. 42 p.43.
109. PD 31 p.19
110. S.C.S. 9 : 36
111. Rajwade 20 : 58
112. S.C.S. 3 : 427
113. Sanada patre Pp.25,29
114. S.C.S. 3 p.162
115. S.C.S. 2 : 289
116. " 9 : 21
" 10 : 14
Rajwade 8 : 46

117. Sabhasad Pp.94-95
118. Compare Sri. Ram Sharma's Mughal Govt. and Administration P.61
119. S.P. 2 : 1505
120. E.R.S. I p.231-32
121. Rajwade 8 : 27
122. E.R.S. I p. 146
123. E.R.S. I p.44
124. E.R.S. I p.97
125. E.R.S. I p.134
126. E.R.S. I p.132
127. E.R.S. II p.7
128. S.C.S. 9 : 55
129. Rajwade 8 : 26
130. S.C.S. 7 : 56
S.P. 2 : 1784
131. S.C.S. 8 : 84
132. Rajwade 8 : 21
133. B.T. p.200 Fryer Vol.I p.207
A Sankrit maxim in this context is "रिक्त हस्तेन गन्तव्यं राजानं वाहणे"
134. S.C.S. 2 : 267
Sanada Patre Pp.22,77
S.C.S. 2 p.148
135. A.F.S. I : 6
136. E.R.S. 1 : p.204,330,335-36, 356
" II : p.66 Fryer Vol. I Pp.200,204-5
137. Rajwade 15 : 17
SP. 3 : 2563 - See Molesworth
138. Rajwade 16 : 31 18 : 18
139. " 20 : 186
140. " 8 : 46,48

140. ^{Rajwade} S.C.S. 15 : 270
141. " 20 : 58
142. ^{S.C.S.} 2 p.178
143. S.C.S. 9 : 19,36
144. R.V.K. 9 : 39 (Shiva Charitra pradeep p.171)
145. B.I.S.M. 6th Annual p.135-36
146. S.C.S. 5 : 876
147. Sabhasad p.19,22
- Parmanand canto 22 : 57-70
148. Parmanand Canto 30 : 11-23
149. Sabhasad Pp.3-6 Parmanand Canto 31,32
150. Sarkar p.97 Compare Sardesai p.148
151. Sarkar p.170
152. Sabhasad p.60,61
153. Sabhasad Pp.74, 78-9
154. E.R.S. I p.90,266
" II p.26,108,267
155. Parmanand Canto 30 : 5 to 13
156. Sarkar p.328
157. ~~Parmanand Canto 30 : 24-25~~
158. Sabhasad p.24
159. Foreign Biographies of Shivaji: Guarda : Chapter II
160. Sabhasad p.24
161. Sabhasad Pp.84-86
162. Sabhasad Pp.95-97. Compare Sarkar's "House of Shivaji"
Chapter XI Pp.182-189
163. Compare Dr.Sen Pp.111-118
164. Ranade p.120

165. E.R.S. II P.485
166. Manucci Vol. I P.247. II Pp.25,132,165
 Dr. Sen Pp.111-12. Compare Dr.Balkrishna Vol.IV Pp-127-30.
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176. S.C.S. 2 p.156
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Chapter VI

LAND REVENUE

CHAPTER - VI

— LAND REVENUE —

Sabhasad mentions that after the capture of Panhālā in 1673, Shivaji divided his country into three provinces and placed each one under a Sarkarkun or Sarsubhedār. The Northern division consisted of the region between Salher and Poona, and the north Konkan. The Southern division was formed of south Konkan, Sāvāntwādī and the North Kanara coast. The third or South-eastern division consisted of Satara and¹ Kolhapur districts plus some part of Karnatak.

Each province was sub-divided into subhas, equivalent to our modern districts. Subha was a division yielding an income varying² from one and a quarter lakh to three quarters of a lakh of hons. Some subhas lying on the border were to be of small size yielding a revenue³ of one lakh rupees only. A Subhā was formed of parganas equivalent to⁴ our modern talukas. A Pargana was made up of several groups of villages⁵ called taraf or karyat or samat in our records. The number of villages⁶ in this unit varied from six to forty.

⁷The term Mahāl was used for any revenue-paying area in a subhā.

Tapā is a small tract or division of country, smaller than a pargana, but comprising of one or more villages. It was usually a small group or a circle of villages under a taraf or karyāt. We find in our records tapā shown as a part of karyāt e.g. Pargana Poona, Karyāt⁸ Sasvad, tapā Khedbare etc.

The head of the Prant was Sarkarkun. He represented the king in the prant. He was next to the king, and as such it was expected of him that he should possess all the qualities that a king should have. This office was given to those according to Amātya, "who are possessed of such qualities as good birth, who are experienced, capable of understanding

what is to be done and not to be done, versed in the Shāstras, proficient in royal duties, (and) afraid of sin. The sarkarkun submitted the accounts annually in person to the king. His representative always remained with the king. During Shivaji's time three from his council of eight ministers were holding this office in addition to their usual portfolios.¹⁰

The Subhā was placed under an officer called subhedar who was assisted by an accountant Mujumdar and some clerks. The subhedar was to be selected from among the efficient officials of the pargana. Shivaji seemed to be particular about the appointment of his officials. Shivaji attached great importance to this office of Mujumdar. According to him the Majumdar should be inquisitive, intelligent and well conversant with accounts.¹¹

The state officials in charge of the mahal were havaldars and clerks.¹² They were assisted by hereditary officials such as the Deshmukh and Deshpande. The Mujumdar of the subha was entrusted with the accounts of the pargana as well. Clerks were appointed for the lower administrative units.

The village was the lowest revenue unit. The village headman assisted by Kulkarni and Chaugulā was in charge of the revenue collection of his village. The work of the village officials was supervised by the state officials. Shivaji instructed his officials that they should meet the cultivators personally, and if necessary, collect the revenue instead of relying entirely on the hereditary officials.¹³

— THE MEASUREMENT OF LAND —

The system of land measurement which was laid down by Malik Ambar in the kingdom of Ahmednagar prevailed with little modifications in Shivaji's territories as well. Malik Ambar followed the earlier Hindu

customs of land measurement and adopted the 'Kathi' or measuring stick as the standard for demarcating the boundaries of the land. The length of this Kathi was five cubits and five closed fists. The land was measured in bighas and the area of the bigha was twenty square kathis.¹⁴

Sabhasad writes that Shivaji undertook the task of land measurement in his territories with a view to fixing the revenue per holding. Like Malik Ambar, he too adopted the Kathi as the standard for measuring the area of land. This kathi was called Shivashahi kathi. The length of this kathi was five cubits and five closed fists. A cubit was equal to fourteen tansus, and the length of the kathi was eighty two tansus, and not eighty as is wrongly estimated by Jadunath Sarkar. Twenty such square ^{kāthīs} ~~rods~~ made a bigha and one hundred and twenty bighas made a chavar. The land in the village was thus measured in chavars.¹⁵
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Another source tells us that the length of the kathi was eighty four tansus. It may be a mistake in copying the paper. The five cubits, it was stated should be of five different persons and the closed fists should be as big as possible. The bigha here was of 22½ square kathis. The difference in the length of the kathi more likely preserves a local variation in measurement bringing about a bigha of 22½ square kathis.¹⁹
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Jervis mentions that the bigha of the Konkan was the largest measure, where an allowance was made of three pands (kathee) in every twenty pands, and the quantity in a bigha thus was twenty three pands. A pand was equal to twenty kathis in length and one in breadth.²¹
²²

The Mahār who was something like a surveyor measured the land, with a movable or leaping kathi. This is known as 'chalti-kāti'. Jervis writes that the kathi not being laid strictly down, but one end having been placed on the ground, it is lifted up and the Mahār proceeds and passes his hand quickly to the other end, and brings it down to the ground with a jerk. This practice, in addition to the local variations²³

of the area of the bigha, also contributes to further variations in area of the bigha.

PROCEDURE OF ASSESSMENT

Malhar Ramrao Chitnis, a chronicler of Shivaji, mentions that there were three assessments made by three persons at different periods during the regime of Shivaji. These three assessments were made first by Dadoji Kondeo, second by Moro Trimal and the third one was by Annaji Datto.²⁴

Dadoji was in charge of the Poona jagir of Shivaji and the task before him was that of habitation of this desolated area. As regards assessment, his work was that of carrying out the Bijapur regulation in what previously had been a Bijapur Jagir. Besides Poona, he brought about colonizing in Muthe-naival areas as well, by about 1636 A.D.²⁵

We find a few references to Moro Trimal's assessment. He fixed the revenue of certain villages of the Shirval pargana by about 1648-49 A.D.²⁶

The third assessment seems to be a more systematic one. A circular letter of Annaji Datto, the Finance Minister of Shivaji, addressed to the pargana officials of Rohidkhore in the year 1678 explained the procedure that he followed. This is in the form of an agreement between the state, hereditary officials of the pargana and the cultivators.²⁷

First of all a record of the arable land was to be prepared. The land of the village was then to be divided classwise such as first class, second class, third class and fourth class land. Thus a record of holdings and the class to which each holding belonged was prepared.

The next factor considered was the crop sown, and the second crop, if any. A crop-wise estimate of the procedure of the holdings of every cultivator in the bigha, was then made.

The Officers in charge of assessment were also expected to give some supplementary information. After carefully ascertaining these things and making an estimate of the crops grown, they were expected to find out what would be the probable procedure if more labour was applied to each class of land and they should put that amount against each holding. They should supply the information of the estimated procedure under the Malik Ambar system.

After making these entries for each particular village, a complete record of the *tapa* should be made and then forwarded to the Finance Minister by the officials.

The Finance Minister, then would inspect three villages of different types in the *tapa*, one hilly, one marshy and one with black soil as well as villages near their boundary, according to the practice of the clerks. At the time of inspection, he would compare the estimates with the actuals or later on with the spot estimates. The Finance Minister, would then give his decision on the assessment which might be enhanced by twentyfive to even hundred percent.

Annaji Datto left this task of estimating the produce to the hereditary officials and the cultivators of the village concerned. He feared that if some Brahmin or Prabhu clerks from outside area were appointed, they might not do their work properly for want of knowledge of local conditions. He, therefore, entrusted this task to the hereditary officials of the *pargana* and the village. For this work, it was suggested that the *pargana* hereditary officials should be associated, in every village they visited, with village officials and some prominent villagers in the task of estimating the produce of the whole village. All these three elements - *pargana* officials, village officials, and the villagers, together had to agree upon the estimate of the produce of the village under consideration.

As people of the village were associated with the work of survey and assessment Dr. Balkrishna describes Annaji's settlement as the
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 settlement by the people.

PRINCIPLES OF ASSESSMENT

As elsewhere, at that time, only land actually under cultivation was assessed to land revenue. From time to time we find cultivators
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 complaining about the actual area under crop in one place or another. Orders were given in such cases to have the records corrected. Waste land, land occupied by trees and common pasture were excluded from assessment.

Assessment varied as we find in the documents of a little later period, not only with the cropped area but also with the crops cultivated. Whatever the mode of assessment, different crops or groups of
 30
 crops had their own rates of assessment.

The state required information about the area under cultivation, the crop cultivated, and sometimes the amount of produce in a particular holding. It is presumed that the land under cultivation was not measured every year. Various holdings, the area of which was entered in state records were shown as under crop year after year. Only when the accuracy of existing entries was challenged, that fresh measurement
 31
 was ordered. We find complaints of the cultivators that the officials over estimated the area under crop which made them pay more than what was due. The state then surveyed the fallow land. When it was proved that there was more uncultivated land in the village than had been taken into account in the original record, the Patil of the village was
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 ordered to make the necessary changes in his records.

Assessment was sometimes in kind and sometimes in cash. From the account of Sabhasad we learn that Shivaji fixed the government demand

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at 2/5 of the produce in kind per bigha. It should be remembered here that under the land revenue system of Malik Ambar, the state demand was fixed at 2/5 of the produce in kind, and later on it was converted into
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a cash demand of about one third of the total value of the crop. After surveying the land, he determined the produce of each type of land per bigha. He did not use the term bigha to denote the area of land in square yards, but to point out a particular holding. He considered mainly the crop-yielding powers of the different holdings rather than
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their areas in square yards.

Dādōji Kondadeo, it should be remembered followed the principles of land revenue laid down by Malik Ambar. He recommended progressive rates to new lands for the first seven years and then they were to be
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assessed according to Malik Ambar's system.

As regards the cash rates our records do not formally indicate, how the cash rates were arrived at. Naturally, they must have borne some relation to the produce and its value in cash.

Cash rates, we find, were generally associated with the garden lands producing cash crops. The crops raised therein were meant mainly for ready money. We find in our records the following rates charged for different cash crops:-

SUGARCANE :-

A distinction has been made between sugarcane produced on canal water and on well water. The rate for the former was 2½ hons per bigha,
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and for the latter it was 2 hons per bigha. The rate of assessment on crops raised on canal water was higher because the canal water was provided by the state and the state must be levying a small charge for its services in making canal water available to the agriculturist.

GINGER :-

When canal water was used for producing ginger, the rate was three

hons per bigha and for well water, it was two hons per bigha, for the same reason as stated above.

TURMERIC:-

The rate here, as above, was three hons for canal water and two hons for well water.

VEGETABLES:-

Onions, brinjal, sweet-potatoes when raised on canal water, two hons per bigha and for well water, the rate varying between one hon and 1/2 hon per bigha.

PLANTAINS:-

It was a garden produce, and the rate was two hons per bigha.

Cash rates were charged, sometimes for land other than garden lands. In the records of Rahimatpur, a village in Wai Pargana, we find the best land assessed at 120 takas per chavar, middling at 90 takas and the third type at 60 takas per chavar. In some cases the revenue was collected in cash as well as in kind from the same holding.

The revenue from arable land was mostly collected in kind. Sabhasad as we have seen earlier, mentions that 2/5 of the total produce from a land holding was collected in kind. Our record reveals that the share of the king was two parts out of five from the total produce. (Rajbhag Pachadui)

We find a reference in the Jedhe-Shakavali about the introduction of Batai settlement i.e. half of the total produce, by Shivaji in his territories from the year 1667. We find certain cultivators of Paunmaval complaining in the year 1674 that the Batai settlement had caused a rise in the prices of food grains. Our records seem to imply that Batai at this rate was not introduced everywhere in Shivaji's Maharashtra. Certain areas were specifically described as Batai areas. It should further be emphasised that the essence of the Batai system was a share

of the actual produce. It need not always imply half the produce. In this form we find it prevailing in many parts of Maharashtra, in some areas concurrently with other methods of assessment as well.

As regards the crop rates, we find mainly two varieties. First, crop rates per bigha; and second was a share of the crop. This second variety of assessment was again of two types namely, a share of the crop by actual measurement of the produce and secondly by appraisal or guess. Besides, we find combination of cash and kind rates in the case of certain holdings. The rates also depended on the crops raised as well as on the quality of the land.

We find the following rates charged for crops per bigha:

RICE - We find the rates varying from ten maunds to $7\frac{1}{2}$ maunds per bigha in different parts of Maharashtra. The rates in Poladpur and Kapade villages were ten maunds per bigha for superior land and eight maunds per bigha for abandoned or waste land. At Shirale, the rate was $7\frac{1}{2}$ maunds per bigha. Whereas at Devaruk it was $7\frac{1}{2}$ maunds per bigha.

Jervis classifies the rice lands under twelve heads. Here also we find, the rate of assessment varying from $12\frac{1}{2}$ maunds to five maunds per bigha.

NAGALI OR NACHANA:- The rate was $4\frac{1}{2}$ maunds per bigha.

HARIK:- A kind of inferior grain was charged at the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ maunds per bigha.

SAVA:- The rate was a little more than a quarter to two maunds per bigha.

Rates per bigha were expressed sometimes irrespective of the crop raised. Thus we find in Rahimatpur, the rate of assessment was three khandis per chavar i.e. $1\frac{1}{2}$ maund per bigha irrespective of the crop raised, as well as the class of the land. Whereas at other places we find that the first class land was charged at a slightly higher rate

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than that of the second and third classes. At other places, we find the rates of assessment as 13 khandis per chavar for the best land i.e. $2\frac{1}{2}$ maunds per bigha, 9 khandis for the middling land i.e. $1\frac{1}{2}$ maunds per bigha and a little less than one maund per bigha for the inferior land.

We find the rates charged for different types of lands per bigha :

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Black soil : Two maunds on an average.

Garden Land: When food grains were raised,

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the rate was five maunds per bigha.

The garden land was sometimes classified as irrigated by canal water e.g. at Sirale and by well water. These lands produced two crops a year. The rates of assessment under each head for the two different crops were different. They were higher in the case of land irrigated by canal water as the state was charging the cultivator for its services.

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Sōri Land : Twelve khandis per chavar or two maunds per bigha.

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Barren Land : On an average $1\frac{1}{4}$ maund.

Thikanāti Land: It means land given to certain people in a village for definite services without remuneration. The rate of assessment, according to our records was eight khandis per chavar or $1\frac{1}{3}$ maunds per bigha.

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When two crops were raised from a holding, the rates sometimes were $2\frac{1}{2}$ maunds for the first crop and $\frac{3}{4}$ maunds for the second crop per bigha.

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As regards crop rates per khandi of the total agricultural produce, we find the following rates charged for different kind of crops as well as for different classes of lands.

NAGALI :-

When raised from avat land, (i.e. a type of land where the stalk

of the crop is replanted) the rate of assessment was three maunds per khandi, and when raised from hilly land it was two and half maunds per khandi. It should be remembered here that this share of the government did not amount to either $\frac{2}{5}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ as we have mentioned earlier as the principle of assessment.

VARI :-

The rate for avat land was $2\frac{1}{2}$ maunds and for hilly land two maunds per khandi.

HARIK :-

The rate was $2\frac{1}{2}$ maunds per khandi.

Jervis mentions that when nachani, vari and harik were raised from inferior lands, they were assessed by the plough and not by the bigha, and for revenue purposes six or seven bighas of such lands were counted together. Jervis, gives the following rates for such crops:-

Nachani - $3\frac{1}{2}$ maunds per plough in superior soil and 3 maunds in inferior soil.

Vari - 3 maunds in superior and $2\frac{1}{2}$ maunds in inferior soil.

Harik - 3 maunds. But in a document of 1694, we find the rate for Harik in Devrukh was $4\frac{1}{2}$ maunds per bigha. This difference may be attributed to the quality of the soil.

Other kind of inferior produce at $1\frac{1}{4}$ maunds.

In the case of inferior lands producing pulses, the share of the state was fixed in kind by appraisal. The share of the state was fixed only by taking a view of the actual crop on the field. This method was adopted by Malik Ambar and it was called Nazar Panani. According to this method, five people in the village were asked to examine such lands and report to the officials their probable estimates of the produce from a particular holding, and then the demand of the state for that holding was fixed. The share of the state in the case of pulses raised

from such lands varied from two to six seers per maund or two.

COLLECTION OF LAND REVENUE

When the surveying of land was completed, the demand for land revenue was ascertained and was shown in a statement called Jamabandi. From the total revenue so assessed, the revenue due from the rent-free landholders was deducted. All cases of exemptions and remissions were recorded. Those who helped the state officials in measuring or weighing the share of the state collected in kind, were paid in kind and that much amount was deducted from the total revenue demand from that village. The word Towfer (तौफर) used in this letter indicates the additional amount collected per khandi.

In every season an attempt was made to clear the arrears first. The Patil was held responsible for the collection of land revenue. If by mistake, more was collected from a village credit was given for it, in next year's collection.

The land revenue was collected twice in a year; in May after the Rabi harvest, and in October after the Kharif harvest.

Any damage to the crop caused by unforeseen factors was to be reported immediately to the authorities who would then order necessary remission of land revenue.

As regards the officials in charge of collection, Shivaji followed the practice of Malik Ambar, who sought to promote the revenue of the state by abolishing the intermediaries and establishing a direct contact with the cultivators.

Sabhnagad writes that Shivaji was determined to protect the cultivators from the clutches of the zamindars, the Deshmukh and the Desai. Officer who would visit every village, and every cultivator therein and thus collect the revenue from the cultivator at the time of the

harvest. Shivaji conquered areas belonging to the Muslim or Mughal rulers. In the Desh area (the region above the Ghats) all ryots used to be under the Patils and Kulkarnis of those villages and the Deshmukhs of the Parganas. These officials formerly were collecting more as land revenue from the village, but remitting only a fraction, say 200 to 300 rupees for a total collection of 2,000 to 3,000 rupees, to the royal treasury. Shivaji waged a crusade against these village and pargana officials and thus tried to establish direct contact with the cultivators through his officials.

Shivaji took every precaution to check corruption. The Subhedar of Prebhaveli māmalā was warned that he should not appropriate anything for himself. He should be loyal to the state and should not ^{be} interested even in a stem of vegetables. As the batai settlement was in force, the cultivators should not be over burdened with illegal exactions. The Officers should never exact more than what was due from the cultivators. He should receive only the due share of the state. Failure to comply with these instructions was sure to invite the wrath of the king.

The State sometimes induced the cultivators, who had left their village, to return by condoning their past arrears, and fixing the present revenue after considering their case. The officers were directed not to press such cultivators for the arrears and fix the rates of assessment in accordance with the condition of the crop.

The cultivators should be kept undisturbed, particularly during the period of ploughing and sowing. Under no circumstances should the cultivators be pressed for their arrears during such periods. It was further instructed that the arrears should not be realised by disposing of the agricultural implements of the cultivator. For, this would have caused a still further loss of revenue to the state.

The revenue was fixed in kind as well as in cash. The Officials,

sometimes, to avoid the trouble of collecting the revenue in kind and storing the proceeds properly, collected it in cash. Shivaji once warned the Subhedar Officials of Prabhaveli mamala that he had never issued any order that the revenue in kind could be collected in cash. The Officials should collect the revenue in the manner prescribed by the state. It should be collected in its proper season and should be stored properly.⁸⁵

ENCOURAGEMENT TO AGRICULTURE

The wealth of the state depended on agriculture. We find the state encouraging the agriculturist by protecting him as well as by providing him several facilities.

With the same object in view, Malik Ambar endeavoured to give the people a definite interest in the soil they tilled. Instead of keeping the state sole landowner, he made a considerable portion of the land private property. It appears to have been a principle of his wise administration to encourage the possession of private landed property as a means of attaching the cultivators to the soil. A noteworthy feature of his assessment was that it was not of a permanent type like that of Todar-Mal. It was annual and that too for normal years. His system was elastic as it was based on the nature of the harvest. This element of elasticity safeguarded the interests of the cultivators and thus indirectly of the state. It is claimed that this liberal policy helped to bring even the waste land under cultivation. His system thus gave the people a sustaining interest in the land they tilled.⁸⁶
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Shivaji was following Malik Ambar in this respect as well. From the account of Sabhasad, we find that Shivaji did everything for promoting agriculture. He provided all facilities to the cultivators such as cattle, seeds, money etc. The cultivators sometimes received

money from the state not only for agricultural operations, but also for their maintenance till the harvest time. He endeavoured to protect the cultivators from the tyrannical exactions of the hereditary pargana
89 officials. We find Shivaji instructing the Subhedar of Prebhaveli to visit all the villages in his jurisdiction and meet the cultivators personally. They should be encouraged and induced to bring land under the plough. The subhedar should enquire whether the cultivator possessed the necessary equipment in the form of oxen, man-power, seeds and agricultural implements. The promising cultivator should be given money to equip himself for agricultural operations. This money was to be collected in easy instalments and according to the convenience of the cultivator. It should be remembered here that the officials were asked only to
90 collect the amount advanced and nothing more in the form of interest.

With a view to bringing more land under the plough, the new lands
91 were assessed at a progressive scale. We find Dadoji Kondadeo applying this scale to the Poona Jagir of Shivaji which was practically desolated in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. He encouraged the cultivators by charging a nominal rate in the first year, and increased it gradually in the course of the next six years. It was expected that the cultivators of these new lands should pay $1/12$ of a ruka per bigha in the first year, $1/4$ ruka in the second year, $1/2$ in the third, $3/4$ in the fourth, 4 rukas in the fifth year, 8 rukas in the sixth year and one rupee in the seventh year. The rate of Malik Ambar was imposed from
92 the 8th year of cultivation.

These concessions in revenue given to the cultivators varied from three to four years. In the case of rice land as well as garden land, we find from our records that full rates were applicable only in the
93 fourth year.

When the land enjoying such concessions was not cultivated, the

amount due from such land was deducted from the total revenue demand.⁹⁴

The State was primarily interested in increasing its revenue. The officers were therefore asked to exempt a cultivator from past arrears if he intended to continue cultivation further, and if he had no resources left to pay the arrears. Because if land remained fallow on this account⁹⁵ the state would be put to loss.

With a view to winning the confidence of the cultivators Shivaji associated some cultivators with the work of estimating the produce of the village holdings.⁹⁶

Owing to the movements of the army as well as the inroads of the enemy, cultivation was often disturbed. The cultivators, in such circumstances, left their villages and thus cultivation was rendered impossible. With a view to inducing the new cultivators to settle down in such villages, the Government sometimes accorded concessions in the form of exemption from house tax and land revenue.⁹⁷

CHAPTER - VI
LAND REVENUE

REFERENCES

1. Sabhasad p. 74 See also Sardesai p.271 Sarkar Pp. 356-57
2. Sabhasad P. 25
3. It appears that the term Mamala was used for Subha in the
Konkan areas e.g. Mamala Chaul, Prabhaval etc. S.C.S. 9 : 53,55
4. R.V.K. 9 : 28
5. S.C.S. 8 : 84
6. P.D. 31 : 25
Rajwade 18 : 38
See Molesworth - Compare Dr.Balkrishna Vol. IV p.45
6. P.D. 31 : 25
7. Sabhasad p. 25
8. S.C.S. I : 21,26
Compare Baden Powell p.254.
9. Royal Edict p.28
10. Sabhasad p.74
11. Sabhasad p.25
12. S.C.S. 3 : 584
13. Sabhasad p.26
14. Jervis : Pp - 18-19
15. Ibid
16. Sabhasad p.26
17. Sarkar p.366
18. Sabhasad p.26
19. Atihasik Sadhane edited by S.V.Avalaskar(Maharashtra State) 1963
This document belongs to a much later period; but it narrates
past events.

20. Ibid "Ghodmuthi"
21. Jervis p.29-30
22. B.I.S.M. 1838 P.129-30
23. Jervis Pp.29-30
24. Chitnis : page 183 para 154
25. P.D. 31 : 10
26. Rajawade 20 : 55-58
27. Rajawade 15 : 340
28. Balkrishna, Shivaji IV P.109
29. Rajwade 15 : 340
Rajwade 20 : 55,56
30. S.C.S. 8 : 26
P.D. 31 : 104
31. Rajawade 15 : 340
32. Rajwade 20 : 55,56
33. Sabhasad P.26
34. Malik Ambar by Choudhari P-168
35. Ibid P.165
36. 91 Q.Bakhar Sect.21 See Sarkar P.-24
37. S.C.S. 8 : 26
P.D. 31 : 104
38. Ibid
39. Ibid
40. S.C.S. 8 : 26 - P.D. 31 : 104
41. S.C.S. 7 : 67 S.C.S. ' ; 26
42. S.C.S. 8 ; 84
See also - S.C.S. 7 : 50,67
Rajwade 20 : 58.
43. Rajawade 20 : 57 - P.D. 31 : 104

44. Sabhasad 26
45. S.C.S. 7 : 62
46. Shivacharitra Pradip P-24.
47. S.C.S. : 4, Pp. 9-10
48. Ibid.
49. Atihasik Sadhane p.111
50. S.C.S. 8 : 26
51. Rajawade 21 : 47
52. The classification of rice lands under twelve

and the rates of assessment were as below:-

Uwul	-	12½	muns	per	bigha
Doom	-	10	"	"	"
Seem	-	8	"	"	"
Charoom	-	6½	"	"	"
Raupal	-	8	"	"	"
Kharwut	-	7½	"	"	"
Bawul	-	6½	"	"	"
Khuree	-	6½	"	"	"
Kureyat	-	6½	"	"	"
Ruho	-	5	"	"	"
Toorwut or Katahnee	5	"	"	"	"
Manut	-	5	"	"	"

Administrative System of the Marathas P.91.

53. Rajawade 21 : 47
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. S.C.S. 8 : 84
57. S.C.S. 7 : 50

58. S.C.S. 7 : 67
59. S.C.S. 8 : 26
60. Ibid.
61. P.D. 31 : 104; S.C.S. 8 : 26
62. S.C.S. 8 : 84
63. S.C.S. 8 : 26
64. S.C.S. 8 : 84
65. P.D. 31 : 104
66. Atihasik Sadhane P. 111
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. Raj. 21 : 47
70. Dr. Sen : P. 91
71. Malik Ambar : Choudhari P.165
Bombay Gaz. Ahmednagar (Volume No.17) p.424
72. Atihasik Sadhane P. 111-12.
73. Ibid.
74. Rajawade 20 : 58
75. S.C.S. 7 : 67
76. Rajawade 18 : 33
" 20 : 28
77. Bom. Gaz. Ahmednagar Volume P.424
78. Sabhasad P. 26
79. S.C.S. 9 : 55
80. S.C.S. 5 : 996
81. S.C.S. 9 : 55
82. SP. 3 : 2468; S.C.S. 9 : 55
83. S.C.S. 5 : 996
84. S.C.S. 9 : 55

85. Ibid.
86. Bombay Gaz. - Ahmednagar Volume P.424
Compare Goodine P. 98
87. Malik Ambar P.168
88. Bombay Gaz. Ahmednagar Volume Pp. 423-24
89. Sabhasad P. 26
90. S.C.S. 9 : 55
91. It was known as Istawā : S.C.S. 8 : 26.
92. 91 J.Bakhar Seet. 21
Compare Sarkar P. 24
93. S.C.S. 8 : 26
94. S.C.S. 7 : 50
95. S.C.S. 9 : 55
96. Rajawade 15: 340
97. S.C.S. 8 : 26
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169.1

Chapter VII

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE

CHAPTER - VIIPUBLIC EXPENDITURE

The expenditure of the state can be classified under the following heads:-

(I) Expenditure on the King :- It includes the expenditure on family, wardrobe and jewellery, coronation, charity, religion and patronage to learning.

(II) Expenditure on civil administration:- It includes the salaries of the ministers and various other officials as well as the expenditure on provincial Government.

(III) Expenditure on the salaries and allowances of the army officials, as well as the expenditure on wars, camps, etc. can be considered to fall under this head. The organisation of forts also comes under this head.

(IV) Expenditure on Agriculture and other activities:- It includes the advances made by the state for the promotion of agriculture as well as the expenditure incurred on the various state undertakings.

—— ON THE KING ——

The Maratha King, it appears, must have led a very simple life. Of course, we do not have records to justify this statement. However, except for the period of Coronation, when the King spent lavishly and generously, it can be said that the personal expenditure of the King must have been moderate during the normal period.

As regards his family, we find that Shivaji had seven or eight wives. He had eight children. Sambhaji and Rajaram were two sons and the rest were daughters. All his sons and daughters were married during

his life time. But we do not get any account of these marriages from which a probable estimate of the expenses can be made.

Raigad was his capital where he constructed houses, palaces, balconies, terraces, big halls, Mahals for his karkhanas serving his personal needs, separate Mahals for his queens, houses for military officials as well as for some trustworthy people. Stables for elephants, horses, and camels, garages for chariots and palanquins store-rooms² and granaries, and many other buildings were constructed on the fort.³ Dr. Fryer mentions that there were about 300 buildings on the fort.³ This building of the capital must have involved a good deal of expenditure.

He had sanctioned nearly one lakh twenty five thousand hons for repairs, construction of modest residential quarters at many forts such as Sinhagad, Sindhudurga, Vijayadurga, Suvarnadurga, Pratapgad, Purandhargad, Rajgad, etc.⁴

Shivaji had collected precious jewels and ornaments like Diamond, Manik, ruby, topaz, pearls, coral, sapphire, opal, gold rings, sirpech, chandrarekha, (crescentshaped ornament) sis-phul (crest-flower), Nagbini (a flower worn on the nose) bāju-band (Armlet), ear-rings, toral (large thick ring for the wrist) bangles, broad wristlet, dhenri (jewelled shield for the ear) and a number of other gold ornaments.⁵

His wardrobe contained many costly cloth pieces as mungipatan or gold-embroidered cloth about one lakh pieces, one lakh pieces of gold-embroidered and plain dopattas, silk cloth, shawl and other woollen fabrics, waist-band, Kinkhab, scarlet, plain and coloured cloth etc.⁶

The collection had been brought in from many parts of India and was occasionally of foreign origin. Sabhasad has made a rough estimate of this wardrobe, which was one crore regular hons and fifty thousand

7

Nishani hons.

Whether Shivaji had purchased all the jewellery and the wardrobe entirely or partly is not known. Part of it might have been acquired as spoils of war.

There were several departments supplying the requirements of the king. They were known as karkhanas and mahals. Sabhasad and Rajyavya-⁸ vaharkosh have mentioned these departments of the king.

CORONATION :- Shivaji spent generously on the occasion of his coronation in the year 1674. His throne was of gold weighing thirty-two maunds and was inlaid with many precious metals. Gold vessels of different sizes, in all sixteen, were made for the use of the members at the time of the coronation. A gold platform for the king was specially made for this occasion. Brahmins from the different parts of the country were invited to attend this royal coronation. They were fed sumptuously for⁹ several days and many gifts were bestowed upon them. Sacred water was brought from many holy places.

The total expenditure on this account, according to Sabhasad, was¹⁰ one crore and fortytwo lakhs of hons. But this appears to be an inflated figure as the annual income of the kingdom, according to Sabhasad¹¹ was one crore of hons only.

CHARITY :- Shivaji had weighed himself against precious metals, in accordance with the custom of the age, and had distributed the¹² entire amount among learned Brahmins.

Jijabai helped needy persons in celebrating marriages of their daughters. Our records reveal that the Deshmukh of Gujanmaval was given a grant of twenty five hons and some foodgrains which would¹³ feed five hundred persons, to celebrate the marriage of his daughter.

RELIGION :- Religious activities took away large funds from the Maratha exchequer owing to Shivaji's liberal and generous religious disposition. His grants did not make any discrimination between Hindus and Muslims. Holy men of the Muslim community received maintenance allowances, illumination allowance and some allowance for the upkeep
14
of the mosque.

The religious grants received by Hindus were :-

(a) For the performance of daily religious duties with ease and
15
comfort.

(b) Donations at the time of an eclipse.
16

(c) Grants to the Maths. Ramdas received a large estate for his Math at Chafal. It contained 35 villages and 410 bighas of land in different villages and payment in kind to the extent of 121 khandis for
17
the performance of various ceremonies.

Mouni Bawa of Patgaon was another recipient of such grants. He was provided with grain and other allowances for feeding one thousand people daily free land for residential purposes, accompaniment of musicians at the time of daily prayers, persons for carrying palanquins,
18
etc.

Similar grants were received by Moraya Gosavi of Chinchwad,
19
Kamalnayan-giri of Nimba and many others.

(d) Annual allowances for religious ceremonies and rites - A fixed yearly allowance was granted for performing daily worship and
20
oblations of certain gods and goddesses. The king used to share the expenses of many religious ceremonies such as daily prayers in some temples, prayers on such occasions as Ekādashi, Shivarātra, Rāmanavmi,
21
Navarātra and Dasarā celebrations by allowances and grants.

An annual allowance of 100 hons was granted to a Brahmin learned in the Vedas, as Shivaji thought that he got the kingdom owing to the brahmin's blessings and spiritual power. Grants known as Dharmadays were given to Agnihotri and learned Brahmins.

(e) Grants for the maintenance of the tombs and temples of the saints -

For the maintenance of the tomb of Sopandev, the younger brother of Dnyaneshwar, at Sasvad, a piece of land with some perquisites as well as an allowance for daily offerings and burning of the lamps was provided. Dnyanadev's temple at Alandi received a similar grant for its maintenance.

(f) Grants for construction of temples and their maintenance -

He constructed the temple of Bhavani at Pratapgad and many temples in Karnatak territory during his stay there.

PATRONAGE TO EDUCATION AND LEARNING :-

Education and learning had their due share in the public expenditure of the Maratha State. The Maths and temples to which liberal grants were made, were more or less schools where religious knowledge was imparted. A substantial portion of the cost of maintenance of the Maths and Temples was borne by the state.

Panditrao, a member of the council of Ministers, was in charge of education and learning, in addition to his port-folio of religion. He was authorised to receive good scholars of reputation and reward them liberally for their attainments. The clerks were instructed that Brahmins learned in Vedas, Shastras, Astrology etc. and those who had performed meditation should be given grains, money, clothes according to their requirements every year.

Shivaji took the initiative in encouraging the creation of certain important literary works. Raghunāth Hanmante was commissioned to prepare a political terminology and thus *Rājyavyavahārikosh* was produced. Krishna Jyotishi was asked to write a treatise on Astrology. He wrote *Karan Kaugthubha* in Sanskrit. Gāgabhatta was requested to write on the duties of the people and he wrote '*Shivārkodaya*'. Parmānanda's '*Shivabharat*', it is claimed, was also written at the instance of Shivaji. ²⁸ Bhugan a poet enjoyed royal patronage.

ON CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

The first charge on the revenue of the state was the expenditure on administration both civil and military. The expenses of administration represented by the salaries of the public servants of all grades and varieties formed a direct demand on the revenue.

Under this head we shall consider, the expenditure on Central Government, Provincial Government and Local Government.

CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION :-

There was a Council of Eight Ministers assisting the king - called *Ashta-Pradhān-Mandal*. *Sabhasad* mentions the members of this council who were holding different portfolios at the time of the coronation in 1674, but does not give the salaries paid to them by the state. ²⁹ Chitnis, ³⁰ however, gives the salaries of these ministers. They were as below:-

(1) Prime Minister or Peshawa	15,000 hons per annum
(2) Amātya or Mujwadār.	12,000 hons per annum
(3) Other Ministers	10,000 hons per annum

Besides these ministers another important official of the state was the Chief Secretary called Chitnis. He was in charge of writing all royal letters and diplomatic correspondence. Bālaji Avaji had enjoyed

this privileged post under Shivaji and his annual salary, according to
³¹
 Chitnis was 6,000 hors per annum.

Next to Chitnis, Phadnis was another important official in the
 secretariat of the king. He drew an annual salary of 2,000 hors.
³²
 Chimanaji Avaji acted as the Phadnis of Shivaji.

The other officials of the Secretariat were Potnis, Potdar,
 Officers in charge of the eighteen karkhanas and twelve mahals, and a
 number of clerks. We do not get details of the salaries of Potnis,
 Potdar and the clerks. But Chitnis mentions that the officers in charge
 of the Karkhanas and mahals were getting a salary varying from 500 to
³³
 100 hors per annum.

It appears from the *Rājyavyavahārkosh* that these karkhanas and
 Mahals were well organised, though we do not get enough details about
 the administration of ^{ea} each karkhāna or Mahāl. The general scheme seems
 to be that there were at least three officers in each department. These
 were, firstly the Havaladar or the Executive Officer, secondly, the
 jamadar, mainly concerned with the duty of protection and lastly an
³⁴
 accountant or writer keeping a record of the department.

Even though we do not get details of the salaries of the subordi-
 nate officials of the secretariat it may be argued that their salaries
 cannot have been less than the salaries of the officers in charge of
 the karkhanas and mahals.

The ministers in charge of different portfolios must be assisted
 by a staff of certain clerks, though we do not get a detailed informa-
³⁵
 tion of the organisation of each ministry.

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION :-

The kingdom was divided, as seen elsewhere, into three parts

prants and an officer of the status of a Council Minister, called Sarkarkun was appointed. In fact we find Shivaji had entrusted this office to three Ministers of his council in addition to their regular portfolios. These three ministers were Moro Pant, the prime minister, Annaji Datto, the Sachiv and Dattaji Patn, the waqnavis. Whether special allowances were paid to them for this office is not known but whenever these ministers, in the capacity of Sarkarkun, used to move in their prants, their agents called Mutaliks resided at the court. We do not know anything about the salary of this Mutalik of the Sarkarkun.

The salary of the Subhedar, was 400 hons per year. This included a conveyance allowance as well. A Karkun was appointed in each subha on the same salary as that of the Subhedar. It appears that the Karkun did not enjoy the privilege of maintaining a palanquin like that of Subhedar. The next important officer of the Subha was the Mujumdar, drawing a salary varying between 125 and 100 hons per year.

According to Sabhasad, a subha was made up of two Mahals. Mahal means any revenue-paying area. The officer in charge of the Mahal was the Havaladar whose salary was varying from three to five hons according to the size of the Mahal. Sabhasad has not stated clearly whether the salary was per month or per year. But if a Mahal was taken as half of the Subha and if the Subhedar's salary was taken as four hundred hons per year, then it can be reasonably argued that the salary of the Havaladar mentioned by Sabhasad was monthly and not annual, as Dr. Sen assumes. The Mujumdar was paid at the rate of three, four or five hons per month or fifty to seventy five hons per year.

The pargana and village hereditary officers possessed rent free

lands and enjoyed many perquisites in lieu of their services. No separate salary was paid to them. When a clerk called Yardi was appointed to write the accounts of the village, where there was no hereditary kulkarni, according to a paper, he received twelve laris as his salary⁴⁰ per month and four laris for sundry expenses.

Besides these payments to the hereditary officials, the state bore a part of the village expenditure in certain matters, such as maintenance of a temple, religious festivals, and perhaps defence. We find references to naikwadi in our records, and this naikwadi must be in⁴¹ charge of peace and order in the village. It should be remembered here that all these expenses were met by additional taxation. Again, it was specially laid down, that nothing more than what was authorised should⁴² be spent on the village.

ON MILITARY ORGANISATION :-

The army consisted mainly of cavalry and infantry. We find a modest naval force, as well maintained by Shivaji. The strength of the army of Shivaji, according to Sabhasad was 2,08,260, including his personal guard at the time of his coronation. There were 60,000 Silhedars under 31 colonels, 45,000 paga under 29 colonels, 100,000⁴³ Mavales under 35 colonels and 1260 elephants.

According to Chitnis, the salary of the Senapati, who was a member of the Council of Eight Ministers, was 10,000 hors per year and the other military commanders drew a salary varying from 5,000 to 4,000 hors per annum. As regards the lower ranks, he mentions, that the⁴⁴ salary varied from 200 hors to 15 hors per annum.

CAVALRY :- The officials were Sarnobat, Panchahajari, Hazari, Jumledar, Havaladar and their assistants such as Majumdar, Karbhari, Jamenis and

and a number of spies, water-carriers and farriers. The paid trooper was called Bargir and the trooper who supplied his own horses and arms was called Shiledar. The annual salaries and allowances of the officials as mentioned in Sabhasad, Chitnis and some papers are as below:-

		45
Sarnobat	...	Rs. 5,000 to 4,000 Hons.
Panchahazari	...	Rs. 2,000 hons
Hazari	...	Rs. 1,000 hons
		46
Jumledar	...	Rs. 500 hons
		47
Havaladar	...	125 hons
		48
Bargir	...	9 hons

The salaries of the personal staff of the Jumledar, Hazari and Pancha - hazari were as below:-

Majumdar of Hazari	...	500 hons
Majumdar of Jumledar	...	100 to 125 hons
Karbhari of Hazari	...	500 hons
Jamenavis of Hazari	...	500 hons

The panchahazari had the same three civil officers attached to his office, but we do not know their salaries. Perhaps they were drawing the same salaries as their counterparts associated with the office of the Hazari were getting. Similarly nothing is said about the civil officers attached to Sarnobat's office.

There was a water-carrier and farrier for every twentyfive troopers. There were a number of clerks, reporters, couriers and spies attached to the offices of hazari, panchahazari and sarnobat. The details of their salaries are not given.

Some of these officials were enjoying certain privileges. Sabhasad

51

mentions that Jumledar had a right to use the palanquin. All officers above him must have been enjoying though Sabhasad has not enumerated them, many more privileges and the state must have been bearing the cost of these privileges. Bargirs were supplied with arms, horses and uniforms.

52

Shiledars were under the command of the Sarnobat of Paga. But we do not know the details of its organisation, its officials and their salaries. However, it may be argued that there was not much difference at least in the organisation of the shiledar troops.

INFANTRY :- The Officials of the mawala infantry were the Sarnobat, Saptahazari, Panchahazari, hazari, Jumledar, havaldar, naik and civil officials like the Sabnis. We do not get details of the salaries of the various officials except that of hazari and Jumaldar who drew 500 hons and 100 hons per year respectively. The salary of the Sabnis of hazari was 100 to 125 hons whereas that of Jumledar 40 hons only.

53

From the salary scales of the military officers described above, it appears that the infantry officers were ~~do~~ not so well paid as their colleagues in the cavalry. The jumledar in the cavalry was drawing a salary five times higher than that of the infantry jumledar and the cavalry Hazari drew double the salary of the infantry Hazari. The difference in the scale may be explained with the help of the law of supply. Besides it was a costly affair to main^{tain} a large cavalry. Dr. Sen has rightly pointed out that the figures of cavalry (45,000) given by Sabhasad are exaggerated. Sabhasad mentions that the strength of his infantry was one lakh under 36 colonels.

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Besides this there was a select group of 2000 soldiers acting as the personal guard of the king. According to Sabhasad, they were

selected after careful inspection. This regiment was divided into units of twenty, thirty, forty, sixty and hundred men. This force was splendidly equipped. They received richly embroidered turbans, and jackets of broad cloth, gold and silver earrings and wristlets. The weapons used by them were also costly. All the expenditure of arming⁵⁶ and equipping this regiment of 2,000 men was borne by the state.

Besides these regular forces Shivaji used to secure military services from his watandars. The watandars of Bhirvadi, for instance, offered to serve Shivaji with their attendants, if the attendants were⁵⁷ paid an allowance of six rukas per head per day. Six rukas means two tirukas or two paisas. At this rate the monthly salary comes to approximately⁵⁸ $3\frac{1}{2}$ taka i.e. about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a hon per month or three hons a year. It may be concluded from this statement, that the salary of the regular soldier in the infantry may not be much different. As compared to the salaries of the other members of the infantry, the wages of the lower rank people appear to be too low.

It is very difficult to agree with Dr. Sen who argues that as⁵⁹ Shivaji was strictly punctual in his payment, it was not necessary⁶⁰ for him to offer very high salaries. One can agree with him when he justifies the low wages on the ground of purchasing power of money in those days than it is now. As the major necessities of life could be satisfied with minimum means, one can argue that the soldiers of⁶¹ Shivaji had little to complain of.

NAVY :- Sabhasad tells us that Shivaji had a naval force consisting of four hundred Gurabs, Tarandes, Tarus, galbats, Shibads and Pagars,⁶² organised into two squadrons of 200 vessels. No further details either

regarding the organisation or the salaries of the officials are available. Construction of boats and their maintenance as well as the organisation of naval force, must have led to a good deal of expenditure.

FORTS :- The Maratha state paid special attention to the maintenance of forts and strongholds. Shivaji spent lavishly on construction and repairs of forts. Sabhasad estimates that at the time of his death, Shivaji possessed no less than two hundred and forty forts and strongholds.
63

Every fort was placed under three officers, namely Havāldār, Sarnobat and a Sabnis of equal status and they acted in unison. In addition to these officials there was a karkhanis in charge of the stores of the fort.
64 Our records reveal that, there were certain other officials and servants associated with the fort. We find at fort Utlur, a Superintendent of buildings, a mujumdar, some sarnobats, clerks and some personal attendants of the havaldar and superintendent of buildings.
65 The salaries of these officials as we find in our records, were as below:-

Havaldar	...	125 hons plus 25 hons for two servants
Sarnobat	...	100 hons
Tatsarnobat	...	12 hons
Superintendent of Buildings	...	125 hons plus 10 hons for one servant 66
Sabnis	...	100 hons
Majumdar of the Superintendent of Buildings	...	36 hons 67
Clerks (when there was extra work)	...	3 hons

Karkhanis was in-charge of the stores, but we do not get any reference to his remuneration. Paiks, naiks, gunners, archers posted on these forts must be receiving salaries as in the regular army. ⁶⁸

Shivaji paid special attention to the construction of new forts and maintenance and repair of the old ones. The Marathas attached much importance to forts. ⁶⁹ Many steep hills were used as forts and new forts were constructed at several places in the territory. He constructed several island or marine forts like Vijaydurga, Sindhudurga, Suvarnadurga etc. The spoils of war and plunder were thus fruitfully utilized ⁷⁰ by Shivaji in building the forts. He had spent a huge amount in building his capital, the Raigad Fort. ⁷¹ There used to be residential quarters for the officials and many other buildings for various purposes on the fort. According to one paper dated 1672 Shivaji had advanced one lakh and seventy five thousand hons for constructing houses on the forts, out of which fifty thousand hons were reserved for Raigad alone. ⁷² The rest was to be spent on eighteen forts including some island forts.

REWARDS AND GRANTS :- Besides the regular pays and allowances, soldiers and officials were given additional allowances for their meritorious work. He conferred pensions, bounties and prizes on those who shed their blood for the cause of the state. Sabhasad writes that the sons of soldiers who had fallen on the battle-field were absorbed in the state service. He directed that the widows of those soldiers who had no sons, should be maintained by a pension equal to half the salary of their deceased husbands. The wounded were given rewards of two hundred, one hundred, fifty or twenty-five hons per head according to the nature of their wounds. Warriors of renown and commanders of brigades were given horses and elephants in reward. Some were sumptuously

rewarded with ornaments like bracelets, necklaces, crests, medallions, earrings and crests of pearl. Such were the presents conferred on men.
73
Some were rewarded with grants of villages in mokāsa.

When Moropant Peshwā and Prataprao together won the battle of Salher against the Mughals, the army was rewarded for its bravery.
74

Cosme da Guarda, a foreign biographer of Shivaji tells us that Shivaji paid a good salary punctually to his soldiers with a view to
75
dissuading them from hiding anything of the spoils of war.

As regards the method of payment Sabhasad writes "The Sarnobat, Majumdar, Karkun and the officers of Huzur were given assignments on the revenue for their salary. The lands cultivated by them were assessed at the usual rates and the amount of revenue due was deducted from their pay. For the balance, they received orders on the treasury of the huzur or the districts. Men employed in the army, the military or the forts were not to be given mokasa rights over any village in entirety. Every payment should be by "varats" (assignments) or with cash from the treasury. None but the karkuns had any authority over the land. All
76
payments to the army were to be made by the karkuns.

Shivaji departed from the mediaeval practice of payment in the form of land or estate only with a view to arresting the growth of feudal power. About the economic position of the superior officials of the state, Ranade writes, "None of the great men, who distinguished themselves in Shivaji's times, were able to hand over to their decen-
77
dants large landed estates".

WAR :- The money spent on arms, ornaments, military equipment, camps and the actual cost of various expeditions cannot be easily estimated.

However, it may be argued that Shivaji spent less on war as compared to the Mughals or the muslim rulers of the Deccan because of the simplicity of his camps.
78

He supplied arms and armaments and dresses to his soldiers.
79 80 81 82
Parmānand, Jayarām Pāndye, Hanmante, (Rājyavyavahārkosh), Sabhasad and others give a long list of different types of weapons used in this period.

From the nature of the arms it seems that they were mostly manufactured in Maharashtra or in its vicinity. Most of the weapons were acquired as spoils of war. Ammunition, cannon, guns were secretly purchased from the foreigners like the French, the Dutch and the Portuguese. He secured for instance 80 guns and 2000 maunds of lead from the French.
83

He supplied horses to his troopers. We do not find any reference to any uniform given to the soldiers, but Sabhasad writes that he had given costly dresses to the Royal Guards. The dresses supplied were, a Mandil(Head-dress), Sakaladi Phatu for a body (a cloak), gold or silver bracelets, gold and silver chains, earrings etc. It may be said, that the soldiers in the regular army were also receiving a head-dress, a cloak and some other clothes.
84

Shivaji's camp was a simple affair, and compared to the Mughal camps, it was perhaps, less expensive. Francois Martin the French envoy who had spent three days in Shivaji's camp in Karnatak, gives a graphic account of the arrangements of Shivaji's camp. He writes in his Memoirs, "His camp is without any pomp and unembrassed by baggage or women. This statement of Francois Martin has been corroborated by Sabhasad who writes that Shivaji did not permit anybody to take wife
85 86

maidservant or a concubine to the battle field, and if anybody was
⁸⁷
 found violating this rule he was punished with death. There are only
⁸⁸
 two tents in it, but of a thick simple stuff and very small, one for
⁸⁹
 himself and the other for his ministers.'

Thus the moderate salaries of the army, the simplicity in dresses, the limited number of weapons mostly made locally and the spartan simplicity of the camps must have minimised the cost of war.

ON AGRICULTURE AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

As the revenue of the state depended on Agriculture, it was but natural for the state to spare more attention for the promotion of
⁹⁰
 agriculture. Shivaji had asked his officials of Prabhavali to advance money to the cultivators even to the tune of two lakhs of laris. This money was to be advanced for purchasing bullocks, seeds and other equipment of agriculture, and the most important feature of it was,
⁹¹
 that no interest was charged for this advance.

He had asked his officials to help the new and old cultivators. They should be given money not only for purchasing seeds and implements, but also for their maintenance till the harvest time. The officers were directed to meet the cultivators personally and attend to their require-
⁹²
 ments.

The State was charging a higher rate of assessment on the crops irrigated by canals. This fact leads us to believe that the state must have been spending on the digging and maintenance of canals.

Shivaji seems to have been keenly interested in the promotion of industry. He showed particular interest in the development of salt
⁹³
 industry which was a monopoly of the state. He had maintained a salt fleet to meet the demands of the various parts of Maharashtra and

94
 outside. He had started a ship-building industry at Kalyan-Bhivandi,
 95
 making use of the timber which was locally available. He had to maintain
 warehouses to store the revenue collections in kind. He had asked his
 officials to sell these products only when they could fetch a reasonably
 96
 good price. Shivaji had his mint at Raigad, from which he was issuing
 97
 a large number of coins, mostly in copper.

It means, in short, though these public undertakings like canal
 irrigation, salt industry, ship-building industry, ware-houses, mints,
 etc. were adding to the royal treasury. Shivaji must have spent a part
 of the revenue towards the maintenance of these undertakings. Public
 undertakings do not always bring profits, but the state has to maintain
 them in view of the advantages that the public derives from them.

It is said that the object of public expenditure may be either to
 keep social life secure and ordered, or to make that secure and ordered
 life better worth living, whether from an economic or non-economic point
 98
 of view. If the revenues of the state are properly apportioned, to
 different heads of expenditure like defence, justice, administration,
 promotion of industry and trade, and social welfare, the purpose of
 public expenditure is realized to a great extent. A careful examination
 of the different heads of expenditure under Shivaji's government leads
 us to believe that the Maratha State of the 17th century was certainly
 heading towards the full realization of the object of public expenditure.

CHAPTER - VII
PUBLIC EXPENDITURE

NOTES

1. Sardesai P.257 - Sabhāsād P.69
2. E.R.S. I P.372; Sabhāsād p.69
3. Dr. Fryer Vol.I p.203
4. Raj 8 : 22
5. House of Shivaji P.185-86
Sabhāsād P.97 - Compare R.V.K. Chapter II.
6. Sabhāsād p.97
7. Ibid.
8. The eighteen karkhanas (Karyasthanam: R.V.K. 2: 34)
were : (i) Khajinā (Koshagār : R.V.K. 2 : 34); cash
(ii) Jawāhirkhānā : (Ratnāshālā R.V.K. 2 : 42) Jewel stores
(iii) Abarkhānā or Ambarkhānā (Dhānyakosh : R.V.K. 7:99) Granary
(iv) Abdārkhānā (Jalasthānam RVK. 3 :82) Drink
(v) Nagārkhānā (Vādyāshālā RVK. 5 : 73) Band
(vi) Tālinkhānā (Mallāshālā RVK. 4 : 32) Gymnasium
(vii) Jamdārkhānā (Vasanāgāram RVK. 2 : 56) Royal wardrobe
(viii) Jirātekhana (Shastrāgāram RVK. 4 : 14) Armoury
(ix) Mudabkhakhānā (Pākālayam RVK 3 : 80) Kitchen
(x) Sharbatkhānā (Pankadi/rasasthānam RVK. 3 : 86) Medicines
(xi) Shikārkhānā (Pakshishālā RVK. 3 : 100) game, aviary, chase
(xii) Darukhānā
(xiii) Shahatkhānā:Conservancy department
(xiv) Pilkhānā (Gajshālā RVK. 5 : 34) Elephant shades
(xv) Pharaskhānā (Asthārnāgaram RVK 3 : 102) Carpets, tents etc.

- (xvi) Ushtarkhānā (Ushtashālā RVK 6 : 72) Camels, and their trappings
- (xvii) Topkhānā, Artillery
- (xviii) Daftarkhānā (Lekhyashālā RVK 8 : 16) Record department.

The twelve Mahals were :

- (i) Pote Mahāl (Koshāgar) Treasury
- (ii) Thatti Mahāl (Goshālā) Cowsheds
- (iii) Seri Mahāl
- (iv) Wahili Mahāl (Rathashālā RVK 5 : 71) Chariots
- (v) Kothi Mahāl (Dhānyāgarām RVK 9 : 56) Warehouse and granaries.
- (vi) Soudagir Mahāl (Dhanik RVK 1 : 6)
- (vii) Tankasāl Mahāl (Mints)
- (viii) Daruni Mahāl (Antāpur) The Zenana
- (ix) Paga Mahāl (Ashvashālā) Stables
- (x) Imārat Mahāl (Bāndhakām) Buildings
- (xi) Palakhi Mahāl (Shibika)
- (xii) Chabina Mahāl (Rātri Rakshanām) Guards

Compare Dr. Sen Pp- 59-61, and 72-75

9. Sabhasad Pp. 80-81 - Compare English Records on Shivaji dated 4th April, 1674 Vol. I P.328 "Seevajee is making a throne very magnificent, on which he spends much gold and jewells, intending to be crowned in June next, being the beginning of the new year(?). To this coronation he hath invited many learned Brahmins, and will liberally bestow on them many ellephants, horses and money ..."

Fryer Vol. I p.205-6

10. Sabhasad P.82

11. Sabhasad P. 82

Compare Jadunath Sarkar, who writes "even when all these (i.e. alms-giving- special gifts to the ministers and other officers, Brahmins etc.) are taken into account together with the price of the throne and ornaments made for the occasion and the cost of feeding the assemblage the total expenditure cannot be put higher than ten lakhs of hons or fifty lakhs of rupees".

P. 214

12. 91 q.B. 89

13. Raj. 17 : 16

14. Sanada Patre Pp. 102-3

S.C.S. 7 : 55

P.D. 31 : 18

SP. 3 : 2515

Sabhasad P.27

15. P.D. 31 : 7

16. Rajwade 15 : 392

17. Itihas Manjiri edited by D.V.Apte Pp. 95-97

18. S.C.S. 4 : 733-41

19. S.C.S. 3 : 509, 515, 517, 523, 524.

Rajwade 15 : Nimba-Sadanand Pp. 128-176

P.H. 31 : 74 Sabhasad P.27

Compare Sardesai P.256. He mentions fourteen persons as religious preceptors of Shivaji whose blessings he never failed to seek.

20. S.P. I : 434, 1904.

21. S.P. II : 1333

Rajwade 21 : 69

21. Parnalparvatgrahnakhyan Canto 4.

S.P. I : 1251

S.C.S. 4 : 741

Rajwade 21 : 74

B.I.S.M. Shaka 1838 P.139-156

22. Sanadapatre P.113

23. S.C.S. 2 : 240-44

Sabhasad P.27

24. SP. 2 : 1421; B.I.S.M. Shaka 1838 P.159 (Shivite)

25. P.D. 31 : 31

26. Shri.D.V.Potdar Commemoration Volume Pp.29-37

S.C.S. 8 : 49

27. Sabhasad P.27 Kānujābata : Panditrao (Sandapatre)

Compare Chitnis Bakhar P.156

Sarkar P.362

28. Maharashtrayanche Kavya Parikshna - Dr.Ketkar

Chapter 11.

Dr. Ketkar in this chapter gives an account of the literary activities of this period. Shri.V.K.Bhave in chapter twenty first of his book 'Shivarajya and Shivakal ' deals with the same topic.

See also Dr. Sen Pp. 166-67

29. Sabhasad pp. 81-82

30. Chitnis p.342-43

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. HWK : Chapter II.

35. Dr. Sen writes that each of the eight pradhans was assisted

by a staff of eight clerks. They were : Dewan, Mazumdar, Fadnis Sabnis, Karkhanis, Chitnis, Jamdar and lastly Potnis.

P. 62. This statement is based on Grant Duff's account.

36. Sabhasad P.75

37. Sabhasad P.25

38. Sabhasad P.25

According to Dr.Sen, the Havaladar was in charge of a small village drawing a paltry allowance of three to five hons only a year. This statement he claims is based on Sabhasad, but we do not find Sabhasad mentioning the Havaladar as an officer of a small village. Sabhasad says, ' Of the karkuns employed in the province, the Havaladar, according to the size of his Mahal should be given a salary of three hons, or as much as four or five hons'.

See Dr. Sen : Administrative System of the Marathas p.98

39. Here again Sabhasad is ambiguous. He says " the Mujumdar should be paid at the rate of three, four, five, fifty or seventy hons" Sabhasad p.25

40. S.C.S. 5 : 975; P.D. 31:21 Lari is a silver coin R.V.K. 2 : 41

41. Altekar P.103; S.C.S. 7 : 21; Raj. 15 : 271

42. P.D. 31 : 21 - Compare Elphinstone, who writes " the maintenance of the village, temples, its fixed and authorised pensions, and annual charities, its ceremonies and religious festivals its alms to beggars, and entertainments to guests especially to Brahmins and Fakirs, its occasional amusements, tumblers, dancers etc. its nazars to superiors, its offerings to the Patil and other village officers on occasions of condolence or congratulations; the expenses of the Patil on the public affairs, and the fees of peons stationed in the village, entail a number of expenses for the community,

which unless allowed for from the Government Revenue (which is very rare) are defrayed by a tax on the village." Pp.280-81

43. Sabhasad P. 54 and 97-100 - Sarkar Pp. 359-60

44. Chitnis P.342-43

45. Chitnis P.343 As regards the rank of the Sarnobat Dr. Sen writes " it appears that the clothes of honour awarded to the Senapati were in every respect similar to those of the crown prince and the Peshwa or prime minister." Military system of the Marathas," Second Edition. Pp. 9-10

46. Sabhasad Pp.22-23

47. Rajwade 8 : 33

It mentions the salary of a Havaladar posted at fort Utlur.

There need not be any difference between the salary of a fort havaladar and that of a cavalry havaladar.

48. Ibid. Martin mentions " the horsemen of Shivaji ordinarily receive two pagodas per month as pay". Foreign Biographies of Shivaji P.316

49. Sabhasad Pp. 22-23

50. " Pp. 22-23

51. Ibid

52. Dr. Sen p.143

53. Sabhasad P.24

54. Military System of the Marathas Dr.Sen Pp. 63-64

55. Sabhasad p.99

56. Sabhasad P.54-56

57. B.I.S.M. 3rd Sam.Vrita, P.163

58. See Chapter 10 of the thesis for the Relation between taka and hon.

59. Foreign Biā. Shivaji p.17

60. Adm. Sys. of Marathas p.143 (d)
61. Mil. Sys. of Mar. p.10 (Dr Sen)
Ranade p.67
62. Sabhasad p.65; Sarkar Pp. 252-54
63. Sabhasad Pp.100-105
64. " P. 22
65. Rajwade 8 : 33,35,36
66. S.C.S. 3 : 426
67. Rajwade 8 : Pp.28-31
68. See Ranade P.67
69. Amātya has devoted one full chapter to the forts (chapter VIII)
wherein he states that the essence of the whole kingdom is forts.
70. Sabhasad p.62
71. Sabhasad p.68 E.R.S. I P.252,372
72. Rajwade 8 : 22. See also Shivaji Souvenir (Marathi) P.119
73. Sabhasad Pp.18-19 Dr. Sen (Adm. System) p.148
S.C.S. 2 : 391
Wilson defines Mokasa as a village or land assigned to an
individual either rent-free or at a low quit-rent, on condition
of service.
74. Sabhasad P.72
75. Foreign Biographies of Shivaji : Guarda
Chapter II. p.17
76. Sabhasad Pp. 24-25. Sarkar 367
77. Ranade: P.70
78. Compare Shri Ram Sharma's Mughal Govt. and Administration
P.97
Dr. Balkrishna Vol. IV p.70. T & C p.218

79. Parmānand Canto 22 : 57 to 60
80. Parnālpārvatgrahanākhyān Ch. 4 75 to 77
81. R.V.K.Ch. IV
82. Sabhasad 52
83. Sarkar P.260.Dr. Balkrishna Pp.104-105
84. Sabhasad p. 54
85. Sabhasad describes Shaistekhan's camp as a huge city. P.28
 Thevenot describes the Mughal camp at Galgala in great details.
 He says " the whole camp was thirty miles about". T & C P.218
- ~~86. Sabhasad~~
86. Foreign Bio. of Shivaji, P.306
87. Sabhasad p.23
88. According to a Dutch paper, Shivaji had only one Shamiyana when
 he raided Surat in which he was staying and the rest of the people
 were living in the open SP. 1 : 968
89. Foreign Bio. of Shivaji p.306
90. See Chapter VI : Land Revenue
91. S.C.S. 9 : 55
92. Sabhasad p.26
93. Raj. 8 : 27
94. ERSI p.146
95. ERSI Pp.217,233
 ERS.II p. 6 SP II 1505
96. Raj. 8 : 26
97. Dr.Sen : Administrative System p.108
98. Public Finance by Dalton p.201.
 4th edition 1960.

195.1

Chapter VIII

POPULATION

CHAPTER VIII.P O P U L A T I O N .

Although we do not have substantial information on the basis of which we could accurately estimate the population of Shivaji's Maharashtra or some places in Maharashtra of his times, we may yet construct an account on the basis of the available source material.

The first census of population in Bombay seems to have been taken in 1872. This gives us a total of 59,17,177 for the districts of Nasik, Poona, Satara, Thana, Kolaba, Ratnagiri and Kolhapur State which then constituted Maharashtra. The population in 1901 for the same area was¹ estimated at 64,53,330 people.

The contemporary records show that the total strength of Shivaji's² armed forces as 2,08,260, at the time of his death. There is no reason to believe that under Shivaji, the armed strength of Maharashtra represented substantially more than 1/30 of the population which Moreland³ had estimated for South India in the seventeenth century. This would lead us to estimate the population of Shivaji's Maharashtra, as 62,47,800.

It might well be argued that the very close approximation of the population under Shivaji and the figures of the census of 1872 renders our estimates doubtful and unreliable. It must be conceded that no accuracy can be claimed for the figures suggested. But it has to be kept in mind that rise in population between 1707 and 1871 though great in the total figure throughout India, was not uniformly distributed all over India. The continuation of the rule of Peshwas till 1818, the existence thereafter, of a large number of Maratha sardars of various ranks might be supposed to have led to a greater increase in population in Maharashtra than elsewhere. But the foundations of states by the

Maratha rulers outside Maharashtra might have absorbed a substantial portion of the people of Maharashtra in Central India, Gujrat and even in North India as far as Gwalior. It may be argued that Shivaji's nation-building activities might have taken out of the population a larger percentage into the army than was possible elsewhere. How much more successful Shivaji was in gathering round him in his armies a larger part of the population, it is difficult to guess. It may also be hazarded that a part of the army might have been soldiers from outside Maharashtra. When every allowance has been made for such uncertain factors, it may be prudent to place the population of Maharashtra by about 1680, at about 1/2 of our previous figure i.e. 31 lakhs approximately.

We are more fortunate, however, in possessing information in estimating the population of certain villages, towns, market places and ports. With the help of certain indirect sources such as Ghartaka i.e. a tax on house and thalzada i.e. a record of total landholdings in a village, we can make a probable estimate of population of certain places.

Ghartaka i.e. a tax on house was common in the seventeenth century as it has been referred to in many papers of this period. But the amount of tax per house has not been precisely stated anywhere. Whether it is one taka per house or whether taka means simply a tax is not known. But we may assume that it is one taka per house.

Thalzada was a list of landholdings in a village. It helps us to make an estimate of the total number of houses in that village.

VILLAGE POPULATION.

In the taraf Ashtami of Aminabad mamala, prant Chaul, there were 43 villages and one Kasaba. The total house-tax, Ghartaka collected

4

from this taraf in 1667 was 1038 laris i.e. 2491.2 takas. As we have assumed that the tax per house was one taka, the total number of houses in that taraf was 2491.

Again, there was one kasaba in that taraf. Let us exclude 500 houses from this total figure as the houses of the kasaba. The kasabas in the Konkan, were trading centres and hence they were bigger in size than those of Desh Kasabas.

This gives us a total of 1991 houses for 43 villages. On an average, therefore, each village may be taken as containing 46 houses.

The joint family system was in vogue in Maharashtra in the seventeenth century. The average strength of a family may be taken as ⁵ varying between ten and twelve. On the basis of this assumption we can surmise that the population of a village in this taraf must be roughly somewhere between 460 and 552.

It may be even less in some cases. In taraf Adharne taraf of the same Aminabad Mamla of Chaul there were 33 villages fetching 70 laris as house tax, whereas the same number of villages in taraf Atone of ⁶ the same Mamla fetched 115 laris. When we apply our tests to these two cases, we get 50 to 60 as the average population for the village in the first taraf Adharne, and 80 to 96 for the village in the other taraf Atone in the same mamla. This shows a very wide variation in the distribution of population in the villages in the various parts of the country.

While estimating the population of a village on the basis of house-tax, we have to take into account one important factor. As we see elsewhere, certain people in the villages enjoyed the privilege of exemption from taxation. The hereditary village officials like Patil, Kulkarni, Chougula as well as Joshi were not contributing towards this tax. In

every village there was a Patil's house and one house of his assistant i.e. Chougala. A Kulkarni had sometimes two or three villages under his charge. The Astrologer may not be found in every village. On an average, it can be said that two to three houses in every village enjoyed exemption from the house-tax. This leads to an addition of 30 to 36 people to the village population.

TOWN POPULATION.

The Pali Mahal of Aminabad mamla contained one kasaba and one Mire i.e. port town. The total house-tax collected from these two towns was 41½ laris or 987 takas. It means that in the Pali mahal, according to our assumption, there were 987 houses in the two towns. This gives us a total population of 9870 to 11,844 for the entire Mahal. It means, the average population of the town must be somewhere between 4,935 and 5,922 roughly.

We can estimate the population of a town with the help of another source namely the thalzada - a record of land holdings. In Kasaba Rahimatpur of Wai pargana, the total arable land was 91 chavars i.e. 120 Sq. bignas, and the total holdings were sixty five. This list includes the land held by the hereditary officials like Deshmukh, Desh-kulkarni, Mokadam, Kulkarni, Chaugula and other privileged persons such as kazi, astrologer, mahajan, priests, etc. Again Rahimatpur was the chief town of the paragana and hence there must have been some families of the state officials. Besides, there must have been a number of shopkeepers residing in the town. It must have also given shelter to some artisans. Thus, there must be atleast thirty additional families in the town. It means that the total number of families must be exceeding 95 and hence the population must be between 950 and 1140.

This shows that the population varied from town to town. According

to our earlier estimate the town population was roughly five thousand, the second source estimates it ~~was~~ one thousand approximately. The only explanation for this disparity is perhaps that the Konkan where the towns were thickly populated was the centre of commercial activity in the seventeenth century.

There were bigger towns as well. Factory records reveal that Chaul, the centre of silk industry in Konkan was practically destroyed by an unhappy fire which razed down 3,000 houses. This number of houses enables us to place the population at about 20,000 at least.

Our records show that the places of pilgrimage were thickly populated. Several Brahmin families used to flock to such places to earn their living. The record of Panditrao, one of the eight ministers of Shivaji's Council, shows that there were sixty Brahmin families in Wai. This gives us a Brahmin population alone of six to seven hundred. It would not be wrong to assume that the total population of Wai might have been about 3000.

Another record tells us that there were 185 Brahmins receiving one Pratap i.e. $1/2$ hon as Dakshana. It may be pointed out here that it is difficult to say whether these 185 Brahmins represent individuals or families. As the Pandharpur custom of dividing the offerings indicates it may be argued that these 185 sharers implied the existence of 185 Brahmin families entitled to a share in the offerings. It is possible that there may have been other Brahmin families not entitled to this share. This would place the Brahmin population alone at about 2,000. The total population of the place must have been somewhere between six and seven thousand, or it may be, like an agrahar village, a place of mainly of Brahmin population.

Another record shows that there were 167 Brahmins of different sub-castes who were maintained out of the offerings of the temple of Shri

12

Shivapur. It means that the Brahmin population of Shivapur alone was about 1670 to 2000. Similarly in Karād there were 223 families of

13

Brahmins in the year 1697. We may put the population of Karād approximately at seven to eight thousand out of which there were nearly two to three thousand Brahmins.

Thus it can be said that in the seventeenth century, a number of factors such as commercial activity, administrative importance, religious importance and geographical situation which determined the size of village and urban population.

CHAPTER VIIIP O P U L A T I O N.NOTES

1. Bombay Gaz. population sections of the districts
mentioned
2. Sabhasad Pp. 98-100
3. Moreland - India at the Death of Akbar Pp. 19-20
4. S.S.C. 5 : 876
One Lari = 12/5 takas
5. Rajwade Vol. 15 : 324
6. S.C.S. 5 : 876
7. S.C.S. 5 : 876
8. S.C.S. 8 : 84
9. E.A.S. II p - 8.
10. S.S.C. 5 : 935
11. Rajwade 20 : 187
12. Rajwade 21 : 76
13. B.I.S.M. Shaka 1838 p. 139-156.

Chapter IX

INDUSTRY. TRADE AND
COMMERCE

CHAPTER - IXINDUSTRY TRADE AND COMMERCEVILLAGE INDUSTRIES AND OCCUPATIONS

The village aimed at self-sufficiency which gave rise to the functioning along with agriculture, of various minor industries and occupations in the village itself. The village population mostly depended for its everyday needs on the labour of its artisans. An attempt was made to keep them in the village by assuring them what would then have been considered a living wage. This was done sometimes by assigning to some artisans, pieces of land for cultivation or in the case of others, making compulsory customary payment out of the produce from the land. Production means creation of utilities, tangible and intangible, satisfying a human need and in this sense, village production could be said to have satisfied all local village requirements.

1

Parmanand gives a long list of artisans which would give an idea of the various industries and occupations that flourished in Maharashtra during the seventeenth century. He mentions the goldsmith, blacksmith, manufacturer of copper articles (Tāmbat), carpenter, shoe-maker, potter, weaver, arrow-maker, rope-maker (Mānga), oilman, blanket-weaver (Dhangar) manufacturer of bamboo articles (komti). Besides these manufacturers, there were a large number of village artisans such as tailor, barber, washerman, mason, gardener, fisherman, dyer. We find professional musicians such as pakhavaji, pāvekari, tālkari, veenekari etc. playing on different musical instruments. There were tumblers (garudi) and entertainers of the people. Lastly there were sellers such as betelnuts and leaves vendor (Tāmboli) wine-dealers (kalāl), bangle-dealers (kāsar), perfumers (gāndhi), image-seller (Bhut-faroshi), etc. Rajyavyavahārkosh

also gives a long list of the various occupations, probably prevailing²
in Maharashtra.

The unit of economic organisation was the village, and the major industry of the people was agriculture. The village artisans generally, manufactured for local consumption only. The skilled artisans found better opportunities for selling their articles in the kasaba market. Our records mention that articles such as shoes, blankets, cloth, articles of wood etc. being brought to the kasaba market weekly for³ their disposal. Even now all kasabas do not have the same market day. Different kasabas must be having different market days in the seventeenth century as well, giving the artisan an opportunity for selling his products in more than one place.

The basis of occupational organisation was the caste, and people rarely went out of their family calling. The village artisan had, therefore, a secure place in the village community. Besides, the simplicity of economic life made them contented with what little they could get in the village itself.

The craft of the goldsmith seems to have attained great refinement and progress during the period under review as we find many varieties of ornaments mentioned in our records. Parmanand mentions several orna-⁴ments probably in vogue in this country in the seventeenth century. Samraj, another contemporary poet gives a similar description of the⁵ ornaments used in this period. Bernier makes a special mention of the craft of the goldsmith in India. He writes, 'Among other things, the Indians make excellent muskets, and fowling-pieces, and such beautiful gold ornaments that it may be doubted if the exquisite workmanship of⁶ those articles can be expected by any European goldsmith.

——: MARKETS :——

There used to be a weekly bazaar at Kasaba and the peth places. Here people from the neighbouring areas used to gather for making their weekly purchases. In addition to the permanent shops of that kasaba, many other outside merchants and artisans with a variety of commodities, used to attend the weekly bazaars. Foodgrains, cloth, butter, betel-nuts and leaves, fruits and vegetables, coconuts, meat and several other commodities were brought to the bazaar. These sellers stayed there till the evening and moved to another market during the night. The weekly bazaar supplied the requirements of the village. The market of a kasaba was of a bigger size and it contained many shops. The permanent shops included those of oil-pressers, vegetable dealers, shoe makers, cloth merchants, weavers, tailors, wine-dealers, etc.

8

The chief person in charge of commerce of the peth was Shete, and just as the Patil was responsible for the development of the village, the Shete or mahajan was responsible for the maintenance and development of the peth.

The state paid the Shete for his services by granting rent free
9 land. When a new market was established the state granted exemptions
10 in custom duties till the peth became self supporting.

As a leader of the market, his main duty was to induce them to develop the peth. For this job, the chief merchant was granted the right to impose an additional cess on the sales and was allotted part
11 of the sales-tax collected. He was also the kotwal of the market and
12 in that capacity he must have exercised police and magisterial duties. He was a member of the village council, and his presence was sought
13 in all important matters. He was a mirasdar, with a reserved place and
14 house in the peth. For the better management of the market, the shete kept a list of the members of the market, and helped the Ghatpandes in

in the collection of octroi. He was helped therein by the local
 15
 officials.

We find that a peth was established many a times by an order or
 sanad given to the person concerned. Jijabai issued such an order in
 the year 1657 to create a peth at Bāhān and name it after her. The
 rights enjoyed by him, such as Shetepan, mahajan, bidwaipan, kotwalki,
 pansarki etc. were enumerated in the sanad itself. The state-officials
 and the village officials were informed accordingly and instructed to
 help him. The rights and duties of the new leader were defined and it
 was stated that similar perquisites as enjoyed by the shete of Aungh
 16
 be granted to the shete of the new Jijapur Peth. We find references
 17
 to other peths as Malpura, Khelpura, Paraspura, Vithapura etc.

As time went on new members were admitted to the market. A list
 of new and old members of the Indapur petha, though incomplete shows
 three sarafs, one goldsmith, five oilmen and two tailors as old members,
 while five sarafs, two goldsmiths and nine oilmen are shown as new
 members. Five members are shown in the list of old members, but their
 18
 occupation is not described. We also find a distinction being made
 19
 between resident and alien merchants of the peth.

An essential requirement of a flourishing peth was security and
 protection. Patrolling the market place was the responsibility of the
 20
 state. Instances of raids on the Peth, particularly in the areas where
 the administration was lax were quite frequent. The merchants and shop-
 keepers being afraid of these raids hesitated developing their trade
 in such areas. Shivaji tried to maintain in his dominions law and
 order so as to help in the growth and development of trade and traders.
 We find, once Chandrarao More assured the Shete Mahajan and the
 merchants of Shirale Kasaba, that if they lost a piece of hemp, he
 21
 would give them a chain of gold as compensation.

Shivaji was interested in developing commerce in his dominions. Our records reveal several agreements with persons in charge of trade as well as concessions and remissions granted to merchants with a view to developing the trade. He had realised the importance of merchants in the state. His commercial policy has been outlined by Ramachandrapant Amatya, in the following words:

" Merchants are the ornaments of the kingdom and the glory of the king. They are the cause of the prosperity of the kingdom. All kinds of goods which are not available come into the kingdom. That kingdom becomes rich. In times of difficulties whatever debt is necessary is available. With its help, danger is averted. There is a great advantage in the protection of merchants. For this reason the respect due to merchants should be maintained. On no account should strong action be taken against them, nor should they be disrespected In the capital market great merchants should be induced to come and settle "22

Merchants of different nationalities like the Portuguese, the English, the Dutch, the French and the Danes, Persians, Arabs, had commercial contacts with Maharashtra as well. Shivaji was shrewd enough to sense danger from the territorial ambitions and proselytising policy of the Portuguese. He, therefore, gave instructions that their (foreign merchants) intercourse should, therefore, be restricted to the extent of only their coming and going (for trade). They should strictly never be given places to settle. They should not at all be allowed to visit sea-forts. If some place has sometimes to be given for a factory, it should not be given at the mouth of an inlet or on the shores of the sea.... The place must be such that it must be low lying and within the range and control of the neighbouring town so as to avoid trouble to the town.

——: TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS :——

A flourishing industry requires a good network of roads and improved methods of communication for carrying finished products to the distant markets as well as bringing raw materials from elsewhere. But as industry was yet in its primitive stage the people must have hardly felt any need of organized transport in the seventeenth century.

Except for the highway which connected Burhanpur and Golkonda,²⁵ and served a part of Maharashtra, there were no highways in this part during the period of study. There were pathways and cartracks. The distance was generally measured in terms of kos and kos is a measure of distance varying in many degrees both beyond and under 4000 cubits²⁶ the standard. Tavernier mentions cos and costes; cos according to him²⁷ was four leagues and coste one league; and a league was equivalent to about three miles. But no higher measure than a kos was ever in general use. It is likely that Tavernier's coste is the standard kos. The²⁸ higher term "cos" used by him is not found in use in our records. Tavernier writes that shady trees were planted on both the sides of the road and at a distance of every five hundred paces, there were set up little heaps of stones, which the inhabitants of the next village²⁹ were bound to white-wash from time to time.

As regards water-routes, we find many references to sea-routes and creeks in the Konkan region. Many small vessels were sailing along the sea-coast and up the creeks in Thana, Kolaba and Ratnagiri districts of the Konkan region. The Ratnagiri sea-board, as now, was a very flourishing and the ports of Ratnagiri such as Bāṅkot, Harnai, Devgarh, Dābhol, Sangameshwar, Rājapur, Mālvān, Vengurlā were busy centres.

Maharashtra has no great rivers except the Godāvari and Krishna. The Godāvari runs across the Deccan from the western to the eastern

ghats and its total course being about 100 miles in Maharashtra. It covers mainly Nasik, Ahmednagar, Aurangabad and Nanded districts. The Krishna is another important river having a course of nearly 300 miles in Maharashtra. Bhima, Nira rivers have also some place in the economic life of Maharashtra. We find ferry services in some of these rivers carrying men and luggage for short distances. The factory records mention the water-route of Pen, in Kolaba district. The river Amba formed a natural water-way, through which the English factories of Bombay received their provisions. They were trading with Shivaji's country through the river of Pen and Nagothana. The river Amba of Pen and Nagothana which supplied natural routes to small ships attracted the attention of the East India Company. The Company then gave instructions to Thomas Niccolls, a factor to study the situation of the river with special reference to its breadth and depth, what boats were able to pass to and fro, how the tides govern, what depth of water at spring tides and what upon nepps, what convenience and accommodation there was for landing and receiving
30
of goods.

The means of transport were ox, camel, horse, donkey, buffalo, bullock, carts and boats. Head loads were carried by men and women.

The oxen were generally used to carry heavy luggage, particularly through Ghats. Sacks filled with grains and many other articles were put on these bullocks and the caravans of merchants passed from one place to another. Each ox used to carry nearly 300 to 350 pounds load on its back. Sometimes a caravan might consist of ten to twelve thousand oxen
31
carrying rice, corn, salt to distant places.

The ox seems to be the most important means of transport during this period. A news-letter mentions that one hundred bullocks were
32
purchased to carry guns from Burhanpur to Amrangabad. Shivaji used to
33
take with him bullocks for bringing plunder from his enemy's country.

Dr. Fryer, while passing through Naneghat saw 300 oxen laden with
 34 salt. Tukaram writes that sacks of sugar were carried by the oxen. 35

The other animals used for carrying goods were the horse, donkey,
 36 buffalo and camel. The buffalo was used for carrying heavy things.
 Shivaji once employed buffaloes along with coolies to carry thirty
 37 cannon to the Panhala fort. Camels were used for carrying the luggage
 38 of persons, probably travelling into Maharashtra from outside. Tukaram
 39 mentions camels carrying goods to the market.

Human labour was often times hired for carrying goods. They have
 been referred to as Khandadiya, Ozekari or Begars in our records. Human
 40 labour seems to have been cheap.

Bullocks carts were frequently used for carrying goods. Our records
 show that once the English could procure carts only at excessive rates
 41 as Shivaji had already engaged many to carry the plunders of Dharangaon.

Boats were used for carrying paddy, nagali, salt and many other
 42 articles. Shivaji used his boats for carrying salt from the ports of
 the Company to his own ports. At one time it was proposed by Moro Pandit
 the Peshwa of Shivaji that the company might use its own ships for this
 purpose. This request was made because of the constant dread of the
 Siddis, who threatened to do much mischief and hinder all trade to
 Shivaji's ports. But the Surat Council rejected the proposal as it would
 43 have affected adversely the carrying of finer goods by such ships. Goods
 44 were carried from the Konkan areas by the sea-route to Surat. By 1664,
 Shivaji had control over eight to nine ports through which at least two
 45 to three ships sail to Iran, Basara and Mocha.

The means of conveyance were oxen, horses, palanquins, carts and
 ferry boats. It appears that Tavernier and Thevenot have used the words
 46 chariot and coach for cart. The palanquin was used mainly by the rich

47

people. Oxen and horses were used by the common people. Ferry boats
^{47a}
 were used for crossing the creeks or the rivers.

The palanquin was meant for a more comfortable journey. It was carried generally by three men on each side who walked swifter and with a much more easy pace. Both Thevenot and Tavernier have left us very interesting descriptions of their own journeys.

Thevenot describes palanquin as "a kind of Couch with four feet, having on each side ballisters four or five inches high, and at the head a feet a back-stay like a Child's Cradle, which sometimes is open like Ballisters, and sometimes close and Solid. This Machine (i.e. conveyance) hangs by a long Pole, which they call Pambour, (i.e. bamboo) by means of two frames nailed to the feet of the Couch, which are almost like to those that are put to the top of moving Doors, to fasten Hangings by ; and these two frames which are the one at the head, and the other at the opposite end, have Rings, through which great Ropes
⁴⁸
 are put, that fasten and hang the Couch to the Pambou".

The palanquins were well decorated and adorned. Thevenot writes, "Everyone adorns his Palanquin according to his humour, some have them covered with plates of carved silver, and others have them only painted with flowers and other curiosities, or beset round (i.e. surrounded) with guilt Balls; and the cases or cages, wherein hang the Vessels that hold the water which they carry with them to drink, are beautified in the same manner, as the Body of the Palanquin. These Machines are commonly very dear, and the Pambau alone of some of them, costs above
⁴⁹
 an hundred crowns, and a crown was equivalent to about two Mughal
⁵⁰
 rupees.

4 Tavernier has also given a detailed account of the palanquins. He writes, "This is a sort of little couch six or seven feet long, and three broad, with ballisters round about it. A sort of cane called

bambouc which they bend like an arch sustains the covering of the palanquin, which is either of satin or cloth or gold, and when the sun lies upon one side, a slave that goes by the side, takes care to pull down the covering Three men for the most part apply themselves to each of these two ends to carry the palanquin upon their shoulders".⁵¹

Bullock carts, which were very light and drawn by two oxen were used for long journeys. They could accommodate only two persons, and carry very light luggage. Some of the Oxen used for such carts used to be very strong and could travel at a stretch 12 or 15 leagues i.e. about 36 to 45 miles per day for sixty days together.⁵²

The horse, camel and ox were used for riding. Tavernier gives a warning that when you either buy or hire an ox to ride upon, you must take care that the horns be not above a foot in length; for if they be longer, when the flies began to sting, he will chafe and toss back his horns and strike them into the stomach of the rider, as oftentimes it has happened".⁵³

Carre, a French traveller, who toured some parts of the Deccan between 1672 and 1674, held that the journey either by sea route or land route was most difficult and dangerous in those days. If sea route was selected there was the constant danger of the Malbar pirates hovering all the while on the coast. The land route was no less dangerous and difficult being full of soldiers of Shivaji, the Siddi, and other coastal princes, and besides this, the roads went by mountains, defiles, and rivers which would be difficult and tiring to cross. But whether the traveller be in cart or palanquin, he had to hire some people to protect his person and property. Tavernier says for an honourable travelling, one must take along with him 20 or 30 armed men, with bows and arrows and some others with muskets who could keep pace with the runners of the palanquin or chariot or cart. English^{Records} mention that "the"⁵⁴
⁵⁵

ways and passages up into the country were very unsafe and dangerous, the thieves and inland Rajahs taking this opportunity of plundering caphilas and robbing merchants". Thevenot had also hired two armed guards, he calls them "pions" in his service, who used to be always with the sides of his cart. He found these people very serviceable as they used to buy all necessary things, look after their masters' things and stand as sentinel all night along. They were armed with sword and dagger and had bow, musket and lance. They were always ready to fight against all sorts of enemies. Careri also complained of the bad conditions of travelling in India. To secure from petty robbers on the way, English factors sometimes used to hire some soldiers for safety on the way.

It appears that, in order to avoid any trouble from the soldiers the travellers used to obtain passports from the officers of the king through whose territories they wanted to travel. Carre had obtained such a passport from Shivaji's officer of upper Chaul for his journey to Rajapur. This passport helped him to prevent Shivaji's soldiers at Kalvan and Sangameshwar from doing any harm to him.

We find travellers mentioning the rates at which they paid the services of the coolies or the vehicles. For a journey of forty days from Surat to Golconda, Tavernier had paid forty to fortyfive rupees. Thus the hire of cart was a rupee a day more or less. Thevenot was paying about seventeen crowns rent per month i.e. about thirtyfour rupees for one chariot. English factors, we find complaining of excessive rates of carts because of the paucity of supply.

The persons hired for security purposes were paid at different rates. Thevenot had hired two persons and he paid them one crown each per month and two pence, half-penny a day as board-wages. Reduced to Indian money it comes to four rupees per month as wages, and about one anna as board wages. Tavernier says that for longer journeys exceeding sixty

days labour the charge was five rupees per head per month, but for shorter journeys it was not above four rupees per month. Thevenot could get porters for carrying palanquins at an easy rate i.e. nine or ten livers per month i.e. about six or six and a quarter rupees per month. He was then, not expected to pay anything as board-wages.

Carre has graphically described the deplorable conditions of these wage earners or coolies. He writes : "I had been astonished, since I left Bicholim, to find the roads crowded with troops of people, carrying such heavy burdens on their heads that I could not look on them without deep compassion. I asked my servants why these poor folk carried such heavy weights over the difficult mountain roads, which we, even without loads could scarcely surmount. I was told that these people were of the same cooly caste as the carriers of my palanquin and my baggage; that they had no other occupation but that of carrying heavy burdens; and that they dwelt on the coast near Goa, and gained their living by taking dried fish, coconuts, arrack and other comestibles, to sell in Bijapur. They were paid 2½ ecus (i.e. about five rupees) a load, however great weight. I marvelled how these poor creatures could earn enough to live on, and stand such heavy fatigue for the twenty-five to thirty days that each trip lasted. I might certainly have been told that it was scarcely enough for their food and upkeep, in so long a journey and might well have believed it, had not my daily experience led me know otherwise. These people did not spend their small wages, but kept them for their families on their return. I had eight of these coolies, six for my palanquin and two for my luggage. I gave each three rupees, which is 1½ ecus, to take me to Bijapur without being obliged to give them any food. I found that they provided themselves, before starting, with a little rice and dried fish, which cost them hardly anything in their own country. This lasted all the journey, with what they find in the

villages, where they are given fruit and milk, and some millet, from which they make flour. Their greatest support, however, is tobacco, which they are always smoking, so that they devoured more smoke than anything else. Besides water, they drink toddy, conjee (kanji) and arrack (i.e. a spirit made out of toddy mixed with a red root called 69 -ganja & a hemp plant *Cannabis sativa* or *Indica*).

We find references to the feed given to the oxen by their masters. Dr. Fryer complains that even though oxen were a great source of income to these people, they did not treat them kindly, but made them to work 70 to death allowing hardly any food to keep them alive. Tavernier also says, "when they have gone half the day's journey, they give them two or three balls as big as one of our two-penny loaves, of wheat kneaded 71 up with butter and black sugar.

The animals required for transport or conveyance purposes were mainly supplied by the Banjaris. These people kept such pack-animals and did not follow any other business but carrying of goods. These tribes used to carry their wives and children along with them as they had no houses. Sometimes they entered into very bloody disputes with 72 rival caravans.

The travellers found it difficult to secure lodging accommodation during the night time. On his way to Goa, Carre came across certain places like Pangefera, Khed, Sangameshwar, which were deserted by the 73 people. He could spend the night time in one of those vacant houses in these deserted villages. Sometimes, the superstitions of the Hindus, who thought that their houses would be polluted and they themselves would be excommunicated if anybody of another caste were to enter their houses, also prevented the travellers from getting good shelter. The travellers, therefore, generally stayed in houses perhaps reserved for 74 such passers by in the bazaar. Thevenot also mentions of two lodging

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houses at Burhanpur.

However, Carre was fortunate enough to get entrance into the house of a decent woman at Jambulvadi, a place near Nesari (Kolhapur District), who along with her three good looking daughters received and sheltered him in a most obliging manner. Perhaps there might be some ladies at important halting places, conducting inns and the coolies, who were acquainted with such inns must be guiding the travellers to such places. Carre was astonished at the courtesy and honesty which he found in a place situated as it was in a district where the people were only herdsmen. The description that he gives can very well be compared with that

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of any modern rest house.

As regards postal services, it seems that the state maintained for its own purpose a corps of messengers who carried letter bags from one place to another. We learn that it took Shivaji's messengers five days to carry a letter from Raigad to Bombay a distance of nearly one hundred and twenty miles. ^{76a} From Tavernier's account, it appears that the letters which were sent by foot-posts all over India went with more speed than those which were carried by horsemen. He describes the postal system of Golconda which cannot have been in any way different from that of Maharashtra. At the end of every two leagues, there were little huts, where there were runners who were always ready to take over the charge immediately. The first man threw the letters in the hut, the second ⁷⁷ man collected them and carried them to the next stage and so on.

This must have been the common practice of carrying letters of business or official documents. An important letter was sometimes sent ⁷⁸ with a special courier. Private people used to send their letters by hiring special messengers, and if it was a business letter, the wages ⁷⁹ of the hired person were paid by the addressee.

G H A T M A R G A

Several roads linked the Konkan and Desh areas. The western Ghats or Sahyadri, is a range of mountains about 1,000 miles in length, forming the western boundary of the Deccan. From north to south there are several notable passes such as the Thal pass, the Pimpri pass between Junnar and the Konkan, the Bor or Khandala pass between Bombay and Poona, Par Pass, the Amba pass, through which runs the road from Ratnagiri to Kolhapur, the Phonda pass, the Amboli pass etc. used by the people. Besides these main passes, there were several other paths-
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ways used by the people. Every road had several chaukis where tolls were collected.
81

Every Ghat had a Ghatpande. He was a hereditary official. He was in charge of the maintenance and upkeep of the Ghat. He provided patrol for keeping the roads safe. His main duty was to supervise the work of collection of duties by his subordinates. He was helped in his work by other officials as Patki, Dangli, Pansare, Pathakdar, Modavi and Metkari.
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Patki was in charge of a chauki and was assisted by Pansare who did the weighing. Thus they helped the Ghatpande in collection of the octroi. Under them there were appointed some guards called Gujaras to patrol the road and protect the caravans passing through the ghat. These guards were stationed at different chaukis. They accompanied the caravans from one chauki to another. They were also called Metkaris. Some metakariss were permitted to charge one ruka per ox as their fees for guarding the ghats. The state paid out of its own revenues the guards it appointed.
83

Our record shows that Patkis were entitled to exact two rukas per ox carrying sacks of grain and salt, and for pulses three rukas per ox. For other articles and tobacco, the rate was six rukas. The charge for a bundle of cloth was twelve rukas and on other commodities according

to the duties imposed on them. The hereditary officials enjoyed these
 84 rights. They submitted the accounts of collections to Ghatpande every-
 month and remit the entire amount after deducting their dues. If they
 85 failed, they received warning from the State.

Modvi was a peon in attendance upon the Ghatpande helping him in
 86 supervising the collection of dues.

Besides these hereditary officials of the ghat and the appointed
 guards in some places, a special officer called Sabhasad was appointed
 by the state. It was his duty to see that the merchants and other
 travellers were not harassed by the soldiers. He issued letters of
 authority to the merchants going to the territory of other rulers, and
 to Shethe-mahajan to help the Patki in securing a place for collection
 87 of tools in the village.

CHIEF TRADING AND INDUSTRIAL CENTRES.

The Konkan territories were flourishing trading areas during
 Shivaji's times. Chaul, Dabhol, Kalyan, Bhivandi, Vengurla, Pen have
 been frequently referred to as prosperous commercial and industrial
 centres in the factory records. Chaul and Dabhol were port-towns and
 ranked with Surat and Goa. The other places of some importance in
 Konkan were Dahanu, Tarapur, Kelva-Mahim, Agashi, Bassein, Bandra, Mahim,
 Nagothana, Shrivardhan, Jaytapur and Kharepatan. However, some of them
 like Agashi, Bassein, Bandra, Mahim, Shrivardhan were never in Shivaji's
 hands. Shivaji's ports of Rajarpur, Dabhol, Kelcy were indispensable
 for the trade of Bombay. The Company, therefore, held the view that
 these ports of Shivaji would "yield great quantity of all sorts cheaper
 88 than we have them at Surat".

Chaul also known as Murtazabad a town in the modern Alibag taluka
 of Kolaba district was a flourishing town in trade. It was thickly popu-
 lated.

This town passed into Shivaji's hands only after 1670. Dr. Fryer who visited Chaul after 1672, and perhaps before 1675, writes, "Upper Chaul a town belonging to the Rajah, about two miles distant from the Portugal city, and was in former times a great mart of all sorts of Duccan commodities, but now totally ruined by the late wars between the Moghul and Seva Gi". Our records reveal that in the year 1674, an accidental fire destroyed about 3000 houses of this town and had caused many inhabitants to run to the island of Bombay for shelter. So it was not much of a centre of trade at least for sometime after 1672.

Chaul was famous for its silk weavers and traffic in horses. Its chief exports were indigo, opium and silk and imports were mainly European articles. It produced silk in the 16th century sufficient to supply Goa and all India, and the silk made here was claimed to be better than the China silk. Besides silk it made very fine boxes, small carved articles and lacquer work.

Chaul was a great mart of all Deccan commodities. The weavers of Chaul, as late as 1668 were making 5,000 pieces of taffaties a year. These weavers for want of security fled to Bombay and settled there later on.

When in 1662, Dabhol passed into Shivaji's control his ships traded between Dabhol and Bombay as well. Shivaji's vessels were anchored in Dabhol or they returned to Dabhol. A letter from Bombay to the East India Company mentions that Shivaji's port of Dabhol was of exceeding and indispensable necessity for the trade of Bombay, for it supplied at cheaper rates than those of Surat and other places many commodities like 'pepper, sticklack, seedlack, dungrees, percollas and other course stores of cloth' which the Company exported to Europe.

Dabhol was one of the most magnificent and populous maritime places of those parts, full of noble houses, fine buildings superb

temples and old mosques. The ships of Malabar and Cambay, met here and exchanged their commodities. Great caravans of bullocks loaded with
95
goods came down from the interior.

Kalyān was another populous city of the seventeenth century having much trade where good from all "Indostan, Golkunda and Coromandel" were
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pouring. Fryer describes it as "the key this way (from Bombay) into that rebel's country". When he visited this city in 1675, this Chief 'empory' of the trade, which once excelled in trade and 'sumptuousness' was
97
practically in a state of decadence.

Bhivandi was another important trading and manufacturing centre. Bhivandi seems to have excelled in weaving. English factors of Bombay
98
persuaded many weavers from Bhivandi to join them on their island, but they refused to do so. Instead they promised to supply them with a large
99
quantity of cloth.

Kalyān and Bhivandi, grew timber in plenty used for construction of ship and houses. This timber has been called as the oak of India by
100
the factors. Timber was the greatest requirement of the Bombay Company and the only nearest and cheapest source for them was Kalyan-Bhivandi. They required timber for making carriages for mounting the guns as well
101
as for other purposes. But as the possession of these areas was in dispute between the Mughals and Shivaji, a regular supply of timber from
102
here was not possible to the company.

Shivaji recovered Kalyān and Bhivandi from the Mughals by 1670,
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and he had established his control over them by 1674. The availability of good timber made Kalyan and Bhivandi a good centre for ship-building.
104
Shivaji must have built his various types of ships here only. Six types of ships like Gurābs, Galbats, Shibārs, Tarāndes, Tārus, Pagārs built
105
by Shivaji have been mentioned by Sabhasad. Shivaji had fully realised the importance of a naval force. Amatya writes, 'Navy is an important

limb of the state. Just as a king's fame for success on land is in proportion to the strength of his cavalry, so the mastery of the sea, is in the hands of him who possesses the navy. Therefore, a navy should necessarily be built". English records also mention Shivaji's fleet consisting of ships, gorabs and gallvetts, and that he had a considerable fleet by 1670. These references to Shivaji's fleet prove that ship-building must have been a thriving industry and as good timber was available in Kalyan-Shivandi, it was located in this part only.

Rajapur was another important commercial centre in the Ratnagiri district of the Konkan. By 1660, the English factors, under the leadership of Henry Revington, who was ^{on} excellent terms with Rustum Zaman of Bijapur, concentrated their attention at Rajapur, which would be according to Revington a centre of large trade in saltpetre, pepper, calicoes, cotton yarn in the near future. The French too had established themselves at Rajapur by 1668 and Shivaji had allowed them to trade freely in all his ports. They were dealing mainly in iron and lead. Carre who visited Rajapur in 1672, writes, " it is inhabited by Moors, Hindus and some strangers engaged in commerce. It has also some rich merchants whose ships trade in the Red Sea, in Persian at Basra, and with the whole of India".

When Rajapur passed into the hands of Shivaji, the English factory was plundered by him. This followed a series of negotiations between Shivaji and the English representatives regarding reparations. The English council several times thought of closing the factory and ultimately it was closed in the year 1682.

Vengurla was also a thriving trading centre. The Dutch had their factory at this place. In 1660, it was a great place of call for ships from Batavia, Japan, Ceylon, on the one side and the Persian gulf and

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and the Red sea on the other.

among smaller places of trade, mention may be made of Mahad, Kolhapur, Ashte, Chiplun, Pen, Nagothana, etc. The ports of Rajapore, Dabhol, and Kelcy were indispensable for the trade of Bombay and these markets were cheaper than the Surat market.

—— SALT MANUFACTURING ——

Salt making was the most important industry of the Konkan coast and many saltpans were working in the region comprising the present Thana and Kolaba districts. Pen, Panvel, Nagothana, Revadanda, Karajna, Thana, were the chief centres of salt making in the seventeenth century. This industry was subsidiary to agriculture, and it provided employment to the cultivators when they were otherwise not engaged in the cultivation work. Salt was exported from these areas. Salt from Talkokan was carried to the various parts of India as well as outside India. It may be argued that this salt industry among other things also contributed to the growth of ship-building industry in Maharashtra as we find references to Shivaji's salt fleet in factory records.

To encourage this industry and protect it against outside competition from the Portuguese territories, Shivaji imposed a high import duty in order to make the home product available at the same price or even cheaper than the outside rates. He had, therefore, instructed the Subhedar of Kudal to impose a high import duty on salt in the area lying between Prabhavali and Kalyan Bhivandi. It must be noted here that the policy of protection usually serves two ends. By raising the tariffs, it forbids the large scale import of foreign goods which can be produced, though at a higher cost in the domestic market, and thus gives an impetus to the home industry. Secondly, if the goods are

imported inspite of high tarrifs, it addsto the revenue of the state. This high duty would have checked the imports of salt from the Protuguese territories and helped to dispose off salt at Sangameshwar. It was also expected that the high duty would add substantially to the state treasury. In view of this he proposed an additional tax of twelve rukas per maund of salt in the year 1671 and instructed his officers to act accordingly.

— ARTICLES OF TRADE —

Our records dealing mainly with the rates of octroi duties, reveal that a variety of articles were brought by different merchants like the English, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Muslims and the Persians to the Chief trading centres of Maharashtra. These articles can be broadly classified as below:-

(1) FOODGRAINS

They have been referred to as Katni articles i.e. commodities which can be rubbed and chafed such as wheat, munga, pulses, arhar, beans, masur, black gram, paddy, varna, maize, nachana, til, peas etc. We find different varieties of rice such as Raibag rice, lala rice, Taliasar rice, Mahawar rice, khivi-sal rice, etc. in the list of property left by Shivaji. Some varieties were known after the locality producing them, others describing their qualities.

(1) S P I C E S

They have been described as Gandhani articles in our records. In this category, the following articles may be included :

Vermilion, cloves, asafoetida, nutmeg gallnut, mace, minium or red lead garlic, onion, walnut, ambergis, pepper, saffron, camphor, gulal, cardamon, turmeric, mercury, jaggery, sugar-candy, molasses, ginger,

haritaki, red-pepper, sandal, gopi-chandan, snuff, tobacco, opium, scented oils like chameli, mogra, champa etc. coconut kernel, ghee, honey etc.

(iii) CLOTH VARIETIES

We find various types of cloth pieces and allied articles brought to the market. Mukteshwar mentions a variety of cloth pieces brought from different parts of India such as Telangana, Malbar, Vidarbha, Gujarat, Bengal, Ayodhya etc. ¹²³ Samraj another contemporary poet also ¹²⁴ mentions the various types of cloth used in Maharashtra. Following were the varieties of cloth : Tafta, Chinatafta, shela, kochaki, mahaban, mungi-patan or gold embroidered cloth, Musadar, patav, Mahamudi, muslin, kad, pitambar, sakhalad, khara or coarse cloth, purtakali, Ashtaputali, ghati, sarees, dhotis, blankets, godhadi, pasodi, coloured chits, maslin shawls and other woollen fabrics, kinkhab, khambayat, handkerchiefs, caps of velvet, yarn, sacking cloth etc.

— (iv) FRUIT AND OTHER EDIBLES —

Watermelons, coconuts, jack-fruits, sugarcane, lemon, plantains, mangoes, almonds, vegetables, cashewnuts, betel-nuts, betel-leaves, milk, butter, fish etc.

(v) OTHER MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES

Shoes, small boats, combs, winnowing fans, wooden boxes, jute, soap, carts, cots, lanterns, plates, copper, lead, ropes, different varieties of paper etc.

(vi) ANIMALS

Horse, ox, buffalo, sheep, etc.

(vii) SLAVES

Male and female.

Some of the articles mentioned above were procured from other parts of India and some from abroad. Of the European nations, French, Dutch, English and Portuguese supplied goods to Maharashtra and carried away some of its products abroad. Of all these, the East India Company was the leading foreign organisation serving Maharashtra.

The East India Company supplied a number of articles such ^{as.} copper, lead, iron, gunpowder, guns, tin, quicksilver, sticklack, seedlack, scarlet, broad-cloth, cloth rashes, coarse cloth, fine cloth from Portugal, coloured cloth, red-cotton yarn, ropes, etc. The Dutch were supplying mainly copper which they brought from Japan.

The conditions of trade in the Deccan by 1664-65 were confused and merchants were moving from one place to another to protect themselves. The total effect was that all trade gradually declined.

Before his coronation, Shivaji, it is alleged, often times disturbed trade by his attacks and especially his plunders injured and distracted the commercial activity of the company. The continuous warfare of Shivaji naturally depressed commercial activities in Maharashtra. We find the factors of the East India Company bewailing the loss of all trade with merchants flying from one place to another. This obviously refers to merchants outside Shivaji's territories.

Shivaji began to devote himself to the advancement of trade in his parts only after his coronation. He denied the privilege of carrying goods upcountry for sale to the company. At the same time he tried to maintain friendly relations with the English as can be seen from the negotiations for trade between him and company. He gave as great encouragement to the Company's trade as it could reasonably desire. He let the company carry on its operations as well as it could.

The European trading companies do not seem to have much trade

with Maharashtra, probably because the standard of living of most of the people here was too simple to allow them to consume the costly goods that the companies brought to Maharashtra.¹³⁴

However, the East India Company hoped that " the trade into Sevagees country will consume quantitys of Europe commoditys and particularly be useful for consumption of copper pice, and tinnys or tinn Budgrookes in great quantitys". Moreover, it appears that Shivaji had promised" to settle a warehouse of his merchants in Bombay for the putting of great quantitys of goods which he hath lying by him," and the company was expecting that this would lead to the development of its trade in the territory of Shivaji.¹³⁵

CHAPTER - IXINDUSTRY, TRADE AND COMMERCENOTES

1. Shiva Bharat Canto 31 - 17 to 23
See also chapter six : Professional Taxes.
2. R.V.R.Chapter 10
3. S.C.S. 10 : 6
4. Shiva Bharat Canto 6 : 82-90
Canto 2 : 52-59
5. Rukmini Haran canto 3 : 38 - P 32 edited by Dr.S.G.Tulpule
6. B.T. P-254
7. Rajawade 21 : 6
8. S.P.I. : 649
9. S.C.S.I. : 40
10. S.C.S. 9 : 40
" 10 : 3
11. " 10 : 22
12. S.C.S. 3 : 51,53
13. S.C.S. 3 : 439
14. S.C.S. 8 : 51
15. BISM. 35 : 1-2, p-4 (Q.1954)
16. S.C.S. 8 : 51, 53
17. S.C.S. 6 : 128; See Introduction to S.C.S. 8 p. 14
18. " 3 : 646
19. " 5 : 919
20. " 2 : 358
21. " 5 : 839

22. Royal Edict : p.31

Prof. Puntambekar S.C.

23. Ibid p.31-32; E.R.S. I : 23; 318-20; II,40

24. Royal Edict P. 32

25. India of Aurangzeb page Cxiv and CXVIII.

26. Molesworth.

27. T.T. Vol. I 47

28. Tavernier makes the distance from Surat to Golconda as 480 to 600 leagues whereas it is so many koses. He seems to be little confused about his distances.

T.T. ^{Vol. I} p. 45

29. T.T. Vol. ^p 224

30. E.R.S.I. p. 243; 302

31. T.T. p. 31

S.C.S. 5 : 919

32. Waqai P.94

33. S.P. 2 : 1923

34. Fryer Vol. I 345

35. Tukaram : 3070

36. S.C.S. 5 : 919

37. S.P. 2; 2183

38. T.T. P. 31

39. Tukaram 3070

40. S.C.S. 5 : 919

Abbe Carre Vol. I pp. 226-27

41. E.R.S. II-115

42. S.C.S. 10 : 6

43. E.R.S. II Pp. 8-10

44. S.C.S. 10 : 22

45. S.P. 1 : 1043

E.R.S. I : p.44

46. T.T. p. 34; T & C p.101

47. T.T. p.35

47a Abbe Carre Vol I Pp. 186, 186-7; 196-8.

48. T. & C. p.76

49. Ibid P.76

50. T. & C. p.136

51. T.T. 35

52. T.T. 34

53. T.T. 34

54. Abbe Carre Vol. I p. 188-89

55. T.T. 36; Abbe Carre Vol. I p.169, 172, 200

56. ERSI p 145

57. T. & C. p. 101-102

58. T. & C. P. 216

59. ERSI P. 55-56

60. Abbe Carre Vo.I. p.191; 61.

61. Ibid Pp. 194, 200

T. & C. p.212

62. T.T. 35

63. T. & C. P.101

64. ERS.II p. 115

65. T. & C. p.101

66. For exchange values of crown, liver etc, please refer to the following:-

T. & C. p. 136 which gives the exchange rate between Liver and

and Rupee i.e. 1 Re. = $1\frac{1}{2}$ Livers.

Abbe Carre¹ Vol. I p. 25h.

25n (Ecu = Crown = 4s. 6d.);

P. 180 n2; P.227 which gives $1\frac{1}{2}$ ecus = ls.3

67. T.T. p.36

68. T. & C. p.76

69. Abbe Carre Vol. I p.226-27

70. Vol. I p.350

71. T.T. p.35

72. T.T. p.32

73. 73. Abbe Carre Vol. I p.196, 197, 199

74. Ibid p.196

75. T. & C. p.100

76. Abbe Carre Vol. I p.228

76g S.P. 2 : 1628

77. T.T. p.223-24

78. Abbe Carre Vol. I p.198

79. Rajawade 3 : 27

80. Imp. Gaz. Vol. I Pp 158-61

81. BISM 35 : 1-2 Pp.11-13 (Q. 1954)

82. S.C.S. 9 : 85

Rajawade 3 : 43

SP. 3 : 2538

83. S.C.S. 5 p.771

84. Ibid.

85. BISM : 35 : 2 (Q. 1954)

86. Ibid

87. Itihasik Samkirna Sahitya Vol. 4 : 15-17

88. E.R.S. I : 315
89. Fryer Vol. I p.198-99; See also Abbe Carre Vol. I p.191
90. E.R.S. II P. 8
91. Kolaba Gaz. p.285
92. E.R.S. I : p.203
93. E.R.S. I. P-185
94. E.R.S.I. P. 277; 315
95. Bombay Gaz. Vol. I Part II p.35
96. E.R.S.I. p.96
97. Fryer D. Vol. I p.308-309
98. E.R.S.II P-111
99. E.R.S. II P-115
100. E.R.S. II P.110
101. E.R.S. I Pp-142;148
102. E.R.S. I P. 150
103. Sarkar p.166; E.R.S. I, p.348
104. E.R.S.I. 217,233. II - Q.6 SP.II :1505
105. Sabhasad p.65
106. Royal Edict p.248-47 Sarkar p.245-47
107. E.R.S. I. Pp. 171-307, II-219
108. E.R.S.I. P.352
109. E.R.S.I. P.123 Rajawade Vol. 8 : 8
110. E.R.S. I. P. 307
111. Abbe Carre Vol. I p.201
112. Sarkar p.334-35
113. E.R.SI. P-93; 239
114. Bombay Gaz. X p.175
115. E.R.S.I. P-315
116. " P-282
117. " P-146

118. Rajawade 8 : 27
119. Ibid.
120. S.S.C. 5 : 919
 " 10 : 6,22
 E.R.S. I :131, 151, 162, 277
 E.R.S.II : 43
 B.T. P.203-4
121. S.C.S. 10 : 6
122. House of Shivajis p.187
123. Mukteshwar : Sabhaparva Canto 15 : 202-226
 See also Prof. Nandapurkar's Mukta-Mayuranchi Bharate P-690
124. Samraj : Rukmini Haran Canto 3 : 41
125. E.R.S. I P-318-20
126. E.R.S.I. P. 151,162,241,277
 " 43
127. S.P. 2 : 1498
 Compare Bernier's Travels Pp 203-04
128. E.R.S.I. Pp-96-97
129. S.P.I 1043,1061,1074.
130. E.R.S.I. P.372
131. E.R.S. II P-72
132. E.R.S.I Pp.350-54
133. E.R.S. II-P-46
134. Sprengel's History of the Marathas (1791) translated in English
 from German by Prof. R.N.Chaphekar, M.A., Poona - unpublished -
 Mss in the custody of the B.I.S.M. Poona) P.15
135. E.R.S. I p 315.

118. Rajwade 8 : 87
119. Ibid.
120. S.S.G. 3 : 919
- 10 : 4, 23
- E.R.S. I : 121, 121, 122, 277
- E.R.S. II : 48
- S.T. P. 203-4
121. S.G.S. 10 : 4
122. House of Shivaji p. 187
123. Mahabharat : Sahasparva Canto 15 : 203-226
- See also Prof. Mandapurkar's Mukta-Mayuravansi Bharate P-600
124. Samraj : Rukmini Haran Canto 3 : 41
125. E.R.S. I P-218-20
126. E.R.S.I. P. 151, 162, 241, 277
- 48
127. S.P. 2 : 1498
- Compare Barnier's Travels Pp 203-04
128. E.R.S.I. Pp-96-97
129. S.P.I 1048, 1041, 1074.
130. E.R.S.I. P. 372
131. E.R.S. II P-72
132. E.R.S.I Pp. 350-54
133. E.R.S. II-P-46
134. Sprengel's History of the Marathas (1791) translated in English
from German by Prof. R.N. Chaphekar, M.A., Poona - unpublished -
Now in the custody of the B.I.S.M. Poona) P. 15
135. E.R.S. I p 315.

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Chapter X

MONEY. BANKING
AND INTEREST.

CHAPTER - X

MONEY, BANKING AND INTEREST

Our contemporary records would indicate that the following coins were current in Maharashtra in the seventeenth century. These coins were Sivarai, hons, fanams, chakrams, padshahi hons, nishani and many other different varieties of hons, laris, rupees, Asfardyas (Asrafis), takas, chatrapati or Shivarai, sasagani, tiruka, ruka, paisa, dam, adka, chaval, chital, duval, pal, byal, etc. Besides these coins, cowries were used for smaller transactions.

Not all these coins were minted in Maharashtra. We find many coins of Mughals, Bijapur, Golkunda, Portuguese, English in circulation in the territory of Shivaji. Old coins of the dynasties that were no more seem to have been also current. The Vijayanagar hons, form a case in point. ¹ Even private persons were also licenced to mint coins and such coins are mentioned as having been in circulation. ²

It has to be remembered that there were no token coins in use in the 17th century in Maharashtra. The market value of the coin depended on its metallic content. Usually older coins of the same ³ metallic content fetched lower value, than similar new coins. Of course we sometimes find an old coin fetching a higher value than a current one. This, however, must have been due to the difference in the weight of the metal or fineness thereof.

Tavernier however asserts that the difference in the value of old and new coins was not due to any variation in the proportion of gold in them, but "it was due to the bankers who with a view to obliging the King pay him annually a very great sum as they used to ⁴ get very much by keeping this difference between the two.

Dr.P.M.Joshi, in his article on the "Coins current in the kingdom of Golkonda" has discussed at length this interesting phenomenon in the numismatic history of India of keeping an artificial difference⁵ between two issues of the same weight and fineness. (p-91).

The difference between the value of the old and new pagoda value can be traced practically from the beginning of the 17th century. The amount of premium varied from 14 p.c. to 70 p.c. for sometime in 1667. According to Tavernier the superstition of the bankers that if the old pagodas were melted some misfortune would befall the country was partly responsible for this artificial difference between the two⁶ pagodas.

Again, as it was customary in Golkonda to make all payments in terms of old pagodas, the "bankers found it profitable to combine superstition with business. But the real reason as pointed out by the English merchants, was that the king wanted to raise money by selling the old pagodas and thus making money to pay his tribute to⁷ Aurangzeb. (p-90)

Tavernier gives a further explanation of this artificial difference between the old and new pagodas. He writes, "It is that the shroffs or changers, in order to induce the king not to have them recoined, pay him annually a large sum, because they themselves thereby derive a considerable profit; for the merchants never receive these pagodas without the aid of these changers to examine them, some being defaced, others of low standard, others of short weight, so that⁸ if one accepted them without this examination, he would lose much,

Thevenot also confirms this distinction between old and new pagodas. He says that the old pagodas at Bhaganagar were worth five

rupees and a half because they were scarce, and new pagodas were worth four rupees only, and both rise and fall according as the
9
"people stand in need of them".

It was the metallic content in a coin that determined its value in general. A coin with less fineness or metal was refused by the merchants and customers.

A firman of Muhammad Adilshah of the year 1654, orders the bankers, merchants and others to accept his hons and in exchange for the coins of smaller denominations. The firman says further that who-soever terms it as a counterfeit, refuses to accept it after deforming the same and postpones to exchange it for coins of small denominations should be chastised in an exemplary manner and his movable and immo-
vable property should be confiscated.

However the firman assures that if the hons of lesser touch were sent to the royal mint, the same would be melted and transformed into
10
standard hons.

We find reference to the officer of Potdar whose main task was examination of coins. Tavernier mentions of the shroffs on whose
assurance alone the merchants and bankers received money from people¹¹. Even people refused to accept money without testing it first. Tavernier tell us about boatmen. If a rupee coin was given to them, they would first throw it into fire and if it came out white from the fire, they
12
accepted it, otherwise returned it.

As the concept of money as 'legal tender' or 'one mint, one coin' was not known in the 17th century, various coins circulated in the market at the same time exchanging for one another in proportion to their intrinsic value.

Licences for minting money for a particular period were granted on certain conditions such as that they should pay a certain percentage of the minted money to the state by way of licence fee. ¹³ (JBRAS 6th-135-36)

About the practice of the Maratha kings in regard to coinage, Abbot writes that there was no central mint, reserving the right of coining, but licences were granted to those who agreed to coin according to the prescribed rules. He states further that it was because of this practice of the Marathas, many eccentricities could be observed in the chhatrapati coins. However, he asserts that there must have been some government order as to the inscriptions to be used, for "notwithstanding diversity in details there is evidence of unity of ¹⁴ design". (JBRAS Vol 20 p.113)

A striking feature of the South Indian currency, it is often pointed out, was that the gold coin enjoyed the largest circulation and the silver rupees were only subsidiary to it. Whereas in the North the silver rupee circulated widely and the gold coin was only a supplementary coin. The sanads granting allowances therefore mention ¹⁵ hon and not rupees. (JBRAS 20 : 192-93)

Classification :

The coins that are found mentioned in our records, can be classified as under :

- (1) Gold coins
- (2) Silver coins
- (3) Copper coins

Gold coins

Sabhasad has given a long list of gold coins left by Shivaji.

Besides, we find references to many gold coins in the accounts of the travellers, factory records, contemporary records, etc.

Under this head Gambar Mohar, Putli and hons of various types such as Sangari hon, Shivarai hon, Padshahi hon, Deorai hon, Achutrai hon, Ramchandrarai hon, Satlami, Ibrahimī Nishani hon, Tipkee hon, Gutti hon, Dharwari hon, Kaveripak, Chandava¹⁶, Vingurla, Vellori, Advani, Devanhali, Venkatrai, Trisuli, Bildham, Ulphakari, Jandal, Tadpatri, Afraji, Bivaluri, Sangari, Pavnaiki, gold bars, tanams, chakrams, etc., may be included.

It is difficult to identify all the hons mentioned by Sabhasad. Dr. Sen identifies Gambar with Gubbur, a coin worth Rs.3-12-6. Mohar was a gold coin used mainly for making presents to the king or any other honoured person. It was popularly known as gold rupee. Putli¹⁷ was used as an ornament also, and its value was about Rs.4.

Mohar was considered as a piece of bullion rather than a coin¹⁸ and its value in 1663 was Rs.13. To Thevenot and Careri, it was a gold rupee and was not common in trade.¹⁹

Shivarai, Achyutrai, Devrai, Ramchandra rai were the hons issued by the Vijayanagar rulers, and they were known, according to the custom of the period, by the names of the kings who issued them.

Some hons, like Kaveripak, sangari, guti, Dharwari, Advani, Chandavari, Veluri, Ramnathpuri etc. bore the names of the places where they were struck i.e. the mint town. Tadpatri hon, appears to be a coin current in the taluk of that name and²⁰ Katerai²¹ hon was the Mysore pagoda. A gold coin bearing the figure of a trident appears to be known as Trisuli hon. Some coins however seem to be named^{neither} after a ruler nor after the place of their origin e.g. Nishani hon.

The Pagodas is an original Hindu coin called varah from the symbol on it of the varah or boar, one of the incarnations of Vishnu, which formed the crest of the Chalukyas and of the Vijayanagar kings.²² It was a term used by the Europeans for a gold coin weighing about 53 grains, common all over the South India.²³

Manucci writes that Pagodas were gold coins and weighed a drachm a Greek coin, were small and circular, stamped only on one side with the symbol of some deity.²⁴

Tavernier describes them as small thick pieces of gold of the size of the nail of the little finger.²⁵ They were made by the English and the Dutch with the permission of the king, and the Dutch pagodas cost one or two per cent more than those of English.²⁵

Pagoda and hon are synonyms. Hon is a Hindustani corruption of honnu, a kannad word. Pagoda means temple. The image of a temple incised on some South Indian hons must have caused the Europeans to call it as Pagoda.

The gold coin Sivarai is associated with the name of Shivaji. Sabhasad mentions this coin in his chronicle and states that there were four lakhs shivarai hons in the treasury of Shivaji.²⁷ Sometimes it is claimed that hons bearing the legend Shivarai were issued by Shivaji. It is difficult to believe that Shivaji would issue gold coins under a title which no Maratha records so far assigned to him. Dr. Balkrishna says that Shivaji used to call himself Shivarai after coronation.²⁸ But we have not come across this word in our sources. It is more likely that Shivarai (Sadashivaraya) hons belonged to the Vijayanagar coins rather than to Maratha coinage.

We find plentiful references to various other gold coins but

Shivarai hons have not been mentioned in our records except in Sabhasad's account of Shivaji. Shri.G. H. Khare on the basis of an undated document belonging to the archives of the Chinchavad monastery states that the Shivarai hons were in plenty in the seventeenth century. He ascribes this document to the interim period between 1680 and 1707 A. D. This document gives the exchange rate between Shivarai hon and Nishani hon.²⁹ But this does not conclusively prove that Shivarai hon was issued by Shivaji.

Shri. D. V. Kale had examined a gold coin bearing the legend " Shri Raja Shiva " on one side and " Chhatrapati " on the other. This coin was somewhat spherical in shape with a diameter of 1.32 centimeter. Its weight was two ³⁰mas and seven ³¹gunjas or 42.12 grains. An imprint of this gold coin is published in " The English records on Shivaji." This gold coin he ascribes to Shivaji. But the genuineness of this coin is not also beyond doubt.³²

Sabhasad mentions thirty two different gold coins. This list will give us an idea of the various gold coins current in Maharashtra. It mentions a gold coin, Fanam. It has been referred to as Fullam in our records.³³ Fanam was struck in gold, containing a large proportion of alloy, and was generally valued at 3 d.³⁴ 36 Fanams nominally went to a Pagoda. According to Dr. Frayer " the Fanam was originally worth about 1½ rupees,³⁵ later it was coined of silver or base gold. In the Rajyavyavaharkosh Phalam has been equated to ³⁶pana, and it comes under the head silver coins.

Padshahi and Muhammadshahi hons belonged to the rulers of Bijapur. Ibrahimi, according to Dr. Frayer and gold coin found in the coast towns of Persia and Western India.³⁷ Achyutrai, Deorai, Ramchandrarai and Shivarai hons were the old gold coins of the

Vijayanagar emperors allowed to circulate by their Muslim successors. All these hons have been referred to as Pagodas in the writings of the foreigners. Dr. Fryer mentions many other hons as Sangary, Joulky,

38

Asmalah and Tipkee hons.

39

We find references to Padshahi hon in our documents. There were struck by the rulers of Bijapur as Mughals did not coin any hons. These Padshahi hons were current in the Deccan prior to the launching of the Deccan campaign by Aurangzeb. Along with these references to Padshahi hons, we find another Bijapur coin Muhammadshahi hon. It is claimed that as there was no other Adilshahi Sultan except Muhammad Shah, who had struck hons in his name, the often referred to Padshahi hon means

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the only Bijapur hon i.e. Muhammad Shahi hon.

The Muhammadshahi hon was 51.5 grains in weight and the gold content in it was 78.75 p.c. fineness, and its exchange value was equal to 3.69 Bombay rupees. But according to the Adilshahi firman, the Muhammadshahi hon had 82.69 fineness. Shri.G.H.Khare argues that this difference of about 4% is negligible as the method of assaying in those days might not be as scientific and accurate as we have to-day. He, therefore, maintains that the value of the Muhammadshahi firman may be equated with that of the Padshahi hon referred to above. The value

41

of a Padshahi hon was, according to Shri. Khare $3\frac{3}{4}$ Alangiri rupees.

We also find references to hons coined by private persons. They were known as Nishani hons. The term Nishani means a sign i.e. stamp to mark coins. These were the hons coined by the goldsmith under the licence of the state.

Besides these, gold bars were also accepted as currency in the

42

market.

Shri. G.H.Khare, with the help of a document from the Sawantwadi Chitnis records has given some more information about the Nishani and Hukeri hons. It appears from this document of a slightly later period that there was a mint at Vengurla issuing Nishani hons. But the inroads of Aurangzeb into the Maratha territory after the death of Shivaji, caused closure of the Vengurla mint. But the Sardesai assured the licencees protection and it was agreed to re-establish the mint⁴³ issuing Nishani hons.

This article of Shri. Khare makes a reference to Hukeri hons (Belgaum District, Mysore State) being coined at the new mint of Pacchapur or Padshahpur.⁴⁴

The value of each hon was determined by its metallic content, and hence it is the intrinsic value of the coin that determined its exchange relationship with other hons. These coins differ in metallic content and weight. This explains the different values of hons in terms of rupees mentioned by different foreign travellers. To Manucci it was three and half rupees; Careri a little more than four rupees, Guarda,⁴⁵ five rupees and Thevenot, rupees five for old and four for new pagodas. Dr. Fryer has given the exchange rates of Sangari pagoda, Tipkee⁴⁶ pagoda and Asmeloh pagoda in terms of shillings and pence. The factors⁴⁷ converted these pagodas at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees in general.

In our records we find that a Padsahi hon was equivalent to $1\frac{1}{2}$ ⁴⁸ Nishani hons and its value in terms of rupees was two and half. Our records give different values of hon in terms of rupees e.g. quarter⁴⁹ less to rupees four, rupees three and annas five and Rs.3.5/13.^{50 51}

These different records prove that the value of a hon was varying between Rs.2 $\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 $\frac{1}{2}$.

A mention must be made of the sub-divisions of hon mentioned in the Rajyavyavaharkosh in the group of gold coins such as Pratap, Dharan, Chaval and Duval. The relations between them was as below:-

One Hon equal to 2 Prataps

One Pratap equal to 2 Dharans

One Dharan equal to 2 Chaval
52

One Chaval equal to 2 Duvals.

We find references to these coins in our records describing
53
certain accounts.

In some documents we find still further divisions of Duval such as 'Byal' and 'Vis'. Byal was half of a Duval and Vis was half of Byal. It means :

1 Duval = 2 Byals
54

1 Byal = 2 Vis

The exchange rates between the Hons or pagodas in terms of rupees or other silver coins are found being mentioned by the foreign travellers as well as by contemporary Marathi and other records.

For instance, the rates of exchange in the Aurangabad market in the year 1661 of the Achut Rai, Deva Rai, Siv Rai, Adhoni and Dharwari
55
hons, were as below:-

	Buying				Selling			
	Rupees	As.	Tan- kas	Dams	Rupees	As.	Tankas	Dams
Achut Rai	4	4	-	-	4	4½	-	-
Dev Rai	3	9½	1	2½/8	2½/8	9½	1	20¾/8
Siv Rai	3	8½	1	33¾/8	3	8½	2	2½/8
Adhoni	3	5½	-	49	3	5½	-	17½
Dharwar	3	4½	1	24	3	4½	1	42½

It is quite clear from the above statement that coins were sold at a premium in the market.

The Rupees of gold i.e. Gold Mohar exchanged for 14 or 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ silver rupees at Surat according to Thevenot,⁵⁶ and according to Careri they exchanged for 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ silver rupees in India.⁵⁷

Tavernier, Manucci, Thevenot, Careri, Dr. Fryer have given the exchange rates of old and new pagodas, pagodas and rupees or laris.⁵⁸

To Tavernier the exchange value of the new pagoda was 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ rupees and that of the old one rupee more than the new one i.e. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ rupees. This artificial difference between the old and the new pagodas as described by him has been already noted before. Thevenot found the exchange rates as Rs.5 $\frac{1}{2}$ for old^{and} as Rs.4 only for the new in Golconda.

To Manucci a Pagoda was worth nearly 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ rupees and to Careri it was 4 rupees. Fryer found a pagoda worth 8 shillings and a rupee worth 2 s. 3 d. It means a pagoda was a little less than 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Rs.

Dr. Fryer gives some further rates of Exchange as he found them at Rajapur. The pagoda there fetched 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ rupees or 48 jittals (?) or 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ larees; Sungar pagoda, was exchanged for 8 s. 9 d. i.e. a little less than Rs.4, whereas Tipkee Pagoda could go in for Rupees four.⁵⁹ Agmeloh pagoda was rated at 1 p.c. less than the Sungari pagoda (Eng. Factories 1656-60 Volume—P.243)

Falam and Chakrams

A document of the Dabhade Records of the year 1695 mentions Hon Falam Chatrapati and Chakre (i.e. Chakram).⁶⁰ Falam and Chakram were the small gold coins. Sabhasad refers to Falam as well as Chakrams⁶¹ (which he wrongly calls 'Chandrame').

According to this document of Dabhades, the relation between Hon,

Falam and Chakram was as below:-

100 Hons	=	160 Chatrapati Chakrams
1 Hon	=	16 Falams
		62
and 1 Chakram	=	10 Falams

Fanam (Falam) weighing about five grains was one of the smallest gold coins, and its traditional rate in the sixteenth century was ten fanams to the Pagoda. But in the seventeenth century it was about fifteen fanams. Our record says that it was sixteen fanams to a Hon. As the coin was nominally struck in gold containing a varying proportion of alloy, the value of fanams in terms of pagodas or hons differed from place to place.

It is difficult to say whether Shivaji issued fanams and chakrams though they bear the legend 'Chatrapati'. It is quitellikely that Sambhaji or Rajaram or both might have struck these coins. In the absence of a conclusive proof, they cannot be regarded as Shivaji's coins.

SILVER COINS

The most popular silver coins were rupees, laris and takas. Among the rupees we find the Mughal rupees such as Shahajani and Almgiri and those of the King of Golconda circulating widely. Sabhagad mentions also the circulation of a Persian silver coin, Abbasi. Mahumudi was another silver coin mentioned by travellers and the English Company.

The current coin at any given time was known as 'chalani' and was rated more than the older issues known as khazana. Khazana means old, debased and worn out rupees and that they were, on this account valued less than other rupees and were subject to dusturi or discount

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of varying amounts. Literally khazana means a treasure or a hoard. Old coins were supposed to be taken out of hoards and, therefore, seem to have borne this name. Being old their metallic content may have been worn out. This might have also been due to constant handling.

We find, the exchange rate between the chalani and khazana, men-

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tioned in our records as below :

Chalani ... Rs.100 equal to Khazana

Khazana... Rs.100, 12 Tankas and 25 dams.

The rupee was a big and heavy coin and weighed nearly one tola i.e. 180 grains. These rupees were coined yearly and the new ones were valued a paisa more during the year they were coined than those of the foregoing years.

71

It appears that the rates of buying and selling of the rupees, Alamgiri, Shahajahani, chalani and khazana were different. For instance, the buying rate of Alamgiri was 16 tankas and 15 dams whereas its selling rate was 16 tankas and 9 dams only.

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Among the silver coins, Sabhasad mentions Asarfadi and Abasha.

Asarfadi means Asharfi, which is an Indian word to signify a Portuguese

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Xerafeen or Xerafin. Ashrafi used both in Arabic and Persian, originally signified a gold coin. The Portuguese adopted this word and used it for

75

a silver coin, issued from Goa. A rupee was equal to about 1.4 Xerafins. Ten rupees were thirteen Xerafins.

Abasha means the Persian coin Abbasi. This coin of Persian origin was named after Shah Abbas II. Tavernier, Dr. Fryer, Thevenot, Careri and Carre have mentioned this coin. According to Thevenot, it was very common at Surat and was equivalent to 18 pence, and Tavernier agrees with him. To Dr. Fryer it was worth only 16 pence. Carreri and Carre

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had also come across this coin during the course of their journey in India.

Mahamudi, another silver coin has been referred to by Thevenot, Fryer and Tavernier. Mahamudi was originally a Persian coin but it was later minted by the Gujrat kings. Thevenot calls, it a Mughal silver coin, equivalent to $2/5$ of a rupee or 20 paisas, but it was not a Mughal coin properly speaking. To Fryer it was less than an English shilling and to Tavernier it was worth 9 d to 1 shilling. Thus its exchange value constantly fluctuated.

In a letter of the Deccan factories of the year 1659, 1000 sangary pagodas had been entered as equivalent to 7,825 Mahamudis. It appears that the factors first converted the Pagodas at $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees each and then reckoned each rupee as $2\frac{1}{2}$ mahmudis.

Lari (Laree, Larree), another silver coin of Persian origin has been mentioned by Sabhasad, Factory Records and certain contemporary documents. It was made of silver wire, doubled somewhat like a hairpin with inscriptions stamped on the prongs.

This Persian coin was originally current in the province of Lar at the head of the Persian Gulf. It seems that it was originally brought by the Persian merchants and proved acceptable to the people of the Konkan, and it was adopted by the Kings of Bijapur.

The Lari consisted of very good and fine silver without any alloy. The great demand for this strange coast money must have led the Sultans of Bijapur to strike laris in their own name.

The Lari consisted of a thick silver wire, something more than three inches in length, doubled on its middle and slightly flattened to receive an impression. The average weight of a lari was about 72

grains, but the length differed; if one 'lari' was shorter than
 92
 another it was also thicker and their weight was equal.

Mandelslo gives the value of one 'pagoda' equal to 10 'laris' of
 Dabhol and about thirty five years later Fryer gives it at 10½ at
 93
 Rajapur.

The Portuguese were also aware of this silver coin, and we find
 94
 its exchange rate being mentioned in their records.

A reference to laris is found mainly in those records which deal
 with Konkan affairs. The revenue of the Aminabad mamala of Cheul Subha
 95
 has been stated in terms of laris. We find references to different
 types of laris such as Basara Lari, Dabholi Lari, Chauli Lari, Hurmuzi
 Lari, Ghadni Lari, the adjectives mostly signifying the places where
 they had been minted. Sabhasad, however, mentions only three types
 of laris namely Dabholi, Chauli and Basara, in his account of Shivaji's
 96
 treasure. The word "Karbri" used by him along with Basari seems to be
 a misreading of lari.

Dr. Balkrishna maintains that the Chaul and Dabhol Laris must
 97
 have been struck by Shivaji when these areas came under him in 1660.
 Dabhol was captured by Shivaji in 1661 and Chaul was occupied by him only
 after 1670. Again we do not find any actual reference to Shivaji's
 minting of laris.

Dabhol lari was perhaps ~~was~~ minted at Dabhol. Basara lari was
 struck in the famous port town Basara, Chauli lari must have been
 struck at Chaul. Hurmuzi lari was a silver coin struck at the port of
 98
 Hurmuz situated on the Persian gulf. Ghadni lari cannot be associated
 with any mint-town in this manner, but it seems that the adjective
 Ghadni stands for any type of lari which could not be otherwise named.

The name might have been applied particularly to laris minted by private persons under licence. Dr. Balkrishna mentions a lari called "sirni" lari. But the term "Sirni" stands for a certain fee which a person pays willingly if he wins his case.

Another important silver coin of this period was taka. It is sometimes asserted that taka was merely a money of account. But this is not borne out by facts as we find in our records, many references to takas and their circulation in society.

Sometimes the word taka is confused with the Mughal copper coin "tanks". Sometimes we find taka prefixed with khurda and as khurda means copper money according to Rajyavyavaharkosh it is argued that taka was a copper coin.

But in our records we find that twelve takas made one gold hon. If 'taka' were a copper coin, then twelve takas would not make a gold hon. Again our records reveal that a taka contained fortyeight rukas, a small copper coin. No copper coin can be further subdivided into so many fractions.

These facts lead us to believe that the taka was a silver coin.

As regards the value of taka in relation to hon, we find many variations. Sometimes a hon was equivalent to 10-1/8 takas, at other times it was 12 1/2 takas and at another place nearly 13 takas.

Taka might have had a uniform weight. But its value in relation to hon seems to have varied from time to time either on account of the varying contents of the hon or of variations in the gold value of silver. These variations in the value of taka and hon confirm that taka was a regular silver coin of this period and not merely a money of account.

It appears that coins minted and used in the East India Company's territories were less numerous in Maharashtra during this period. The East India Company in Bombay seems to have had coins of their own in 111 1679. The Surat Council was not sure that these would be taken generally as equivalent of Mughal coins and bring some profit to the East India Company. The Company's representatives in their negotiations with Shivaji had tried to secure the use of their coins minted in his dominion in 112 Maharashtra. Shivaji, however, refused to be taken in by all their arguments, and left the coins, if they were ever brought in Maharashtra, 113 to the fate of the market competition.

In this connection Dr. Fryer writes, "He accounted it (the company's demand that its money go current in Shivaji's territory) as unnecessary to be inserted because he forbids not the passing of any manner of coins, nor on the other side, can he force his subjects to take those Monies whereby they shall be Losers; but if our coin be as fine an Alloy and as weighty as the Mogul's, and other princes, he will not prohibit it". 114

Consequently, this statement of Fryer proves that Mughal and other coins were in wide circulation in the Maratha country.

Copper and other coins

In this category all the copper coins of smaller denominations, such as Sivarai or Chatrapati, Sajagani, Tiruka, Paisa, Ruka, Dam, Adka, Chital, Budgrooks and Cowris may be included. Of these copper coins, Ruka, Turuka, Shivarai or Sasagani seem to be struck by Shivaji in his own mints. Mr. Abbot had collected and examined nearly 25 thousand such 115 copper coins. Copper seems to be consumed largely in the Deccan for

monetary purposes. This metal was supplied by the English to the Indians. To them it was a ready money article as they could get payment in cash immediately.¹¹⁶

These copper coins were not of equal size. Shivaji's coins bear these legends "Shri Raja Shiva" and "Chhatrapati" on the obverse and reverse sides respectively. Mr. Abbot gives some eight variations in¹¹⁷ the spelling of the word Shri Raja Shiva Chhatrapati. These coins show some pictures on one side incised on them such as flower, sword, gun, arrow, moon, leaves of Bel tree, planets and the ³⁰30 diac signs. They vary in their weights, some weigh 1/4 tola, some 3/4 tola and one tola. The coin weighing 1/4 tola was called Ruka and the other weighing 3/4 tola¹¹⁸ was Chhatrapati or Shivarai. The coin weighing one tola was commonly called a Paissa.

It is sometimes claimed that the coin weighing 3/4 tola was a¹¹⁹ Tiruka and that of one tola a Shivarai or Chhatrapati.

It cannot be said with certainty when the denominations of the Rupee like anna, 1/2 anna, Paissa and Pie came into use in Maharashtra. The earliest reference to Anna is found in the English records of 1708. But it appears that in the Deccan, the denominations of the rupee were¹²⁰ Duvals and Byals¹²¹ and not annas and paisas as it was sometimes believed.

Paissa, dam and still smaller coins were circulated by the Mughal and muslim rulers. About Paissa, Fryer writes that it was a sort of copper money current among the poorer sort of people. He mentions the¹²² value of Mahmudi varying from 12 to 24 paisas. From Factory records,¹²³ it appears, that Bombay pice was current in Shivaji's land.

¹²⁴To Thevenot the value of a rupee was 55 paisas, though he believed it was not worth about 46 or 47 paisas; and to Tavernier, it varied

125 126

from 46 to 56 paisas. Careri mentions that 54 paisas made a rupee. These variations may be due to local market conditions. Tavernier explains this variation by pointing out that as you go nearer to the copper mines, you get more paisas for a rupee.

The Chhatrapati coin was, it appears current in many parts of Shivaji's territory during the period under review. Ranade asserted that there were no coins minted below the Shivarai paisa of ten massas and that cowries were used for all small transactions. But in our records we find small coins like ruka and adka or $1/2$ ruka used along with cowries.

It appears from our records that Shivarai was equal to six rukas. It is stated in a paper that a Brahmin should receive one shivarai as 'dakshana' daily and against this Shivarai six rukas have been mentioned. A reference is made to another coin of six rukas called sajagani. Perhaps Sajagani is the same as Shivarai.

Tiruka was half of the Chhatrapati. The Chhatrapati was referred to as double paisa or dhabu and Tiruka as Paisa. Thus we get Chhatrapati or Shivarai or Sajagani, Tiruka, Paisa and rukas as small copper coins current in Shivaji's territory.

It is worth noting here the relation between the silver coin taka and these copper coins, particularly the ruka. $1/3$ taka has been equated in a paper, with twelve rukas. This gives us the relations between taka and ruka i.e. 48 rukas made a taka. In another paper we find a statement regarding the amount of Dakshana received by 1835 brahmins. The total amount was $114\frac{1}{2}$ takas and nine rukas. This confirms our earlier ratio between taka and rukas.

Sometimes the area of land in a village was expressed in terms of

takas and rukas. Our records reveal an account of a taka land as $1/2$ taka garden land, 3 rukas chamber like, (the name of the land), 6 rukas as Sindia's land and the remaining $1/4$ taka and three rukas as cashew-
134
nut garden. The total thus makes 48 rukas.

Thus with the help of these reference we can establish the relation between Ruka, Tiruka, Chhatrapati and taka as below:-

3 Rukas equal to One Tiruka

2 Tirukas equal to One Chhatrapati or Shivarai Or
Sajegani

8 Chhatrapatis equal to One taka
48 rukas

It seems that the coin Tiruka was equal to Paisa. But paisa was
135
not very often referred to in our Marathi records.

We find reference to one more copper coin i.e. Chital or Jital.
136
It appears that Chital was less than $1/4$ taka or 12 rukas. According to Wilson Chital was equivalent to our modern pice.

137
Bugrooks, Budgrooks or Bazaruccos was a low type of coin. According to Hobson and Jobson it was an obsolete Goa coin of low denomination. It was coined at different times in copper, tin, lead and tutenague.

Below these copper coins bitter almonds and shells called cowries were used for smaller transactions particularly in the Mughal and Muslim area. In our records we do not find any reference to smaller transactions. But as Tavernier maintains that they were current in the territory of Bijapur, we can safely take it for granted that the cowries must be current in Shivaji's territories as well.

BANKING

There were no banking institutions doing the regular banking business i.e. accepting deposits and advancing loans, but there were indigenous bankers dealing with advances. The bankers in the society were Shete Mahajan, Deshkulkarni, Deshpande, Deshmukh and some Brahmins.¹⁴¹

When a loan proposal was accepted by both the parties, it was reduced to writing. This document was called 'karja kataba', 'karja rokha', 'karjakhat', or 'karja patra', meaning an agreement regarding the loan taken. In this document such details as the name of the creditor (Dhanako), debtor (Rinko), principal, rate of interest, the purpose of loan, the period of return and the penalties, if the principal with interest was not returned within the stipulated time were mentioned.¹⁴² Sometimes the money-lender advanced money to the debtor not directly but through a security who assured of him the payment of the money with interest. In such deeds, the name of the guarantee was

specifically mentioned. In one case, we find, the Deshkulkarni
 advanced money to the cultivators and held the kulkarni of that village
 to which the debtor cultivators belonged, responsible for the recovery
 of the loan.¹⁴⁴

No document was complete without the signatures of witnesses. The
 number of witnesses, varying from two to nine, seems to depend upon
 the nature of the property involved in the deed. Tukaram also empha-
 sises the importance of witnesses on such documents.¹⁴⁵ If it was an
 ordinary loan, the two witnesses, generally Patil and Kulkarni or some-
 body else of the village concerned acted as witnesses.¹⁴⁶ But when a
 Miras inam was pledged along with the perquisites attached to it, the
 number of witnesses was quite large. In one such deed we find Deshmukh,
 Deshkulkarni, Sheti Mahajan, Naikwadi, Joshi, Patil, Pansara, Dangi,
 etc., as the witnesses to the transaction.¹⁴⁷ As the Miras was not a pro-
 perty of the individual but a hereditary holding, it was necessary to
 give notice to such other persons in the village who may have had the
 remotest interest in the transaction.

Another feature of such document was that the debtor had to
 mention specifically, that he had written it on his own accord and
 willingly without any restraint.¹⁴⁸

The purpose of loan, in some cases, it appears was defraying the
 expenses of litigation arising out of disputes regarding watan. We
 find Deshmukh, Kulkarnis and others borrowing from the money-lenders
 for meeting the expenses of such litigations.¹⁴⁹

Sometimes people borrowed money for their maintenance during the
 period of distress, famine, draughts and similar calamities. Whenever
 the advance was taken on the condition of returning it after the

harvest time, it may be presumed that the loan was for maintenance.

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Sometimes such loans were taken in kind. Sometimes people borrowed money from a money-lender not belonging to their village or town. When a loan was thus taken from an outside money lender, it was to be paid
151
whenever the creditor wanted to be paid.

Sometimes money was borrowed to pay a ransom. One Siddikhan raided Rajapur and carried with him some members of a kunbi family. The kunbi requested one 'shenvi' to stand security for him for Rs.210 as he had to pay that amount to the khan for securing the release of his people. He borrowed that amount plus rupees ten for sundry expenses and paid it
152
to the khan to get his people released.

The papers that are available do not deal with any loan secured for commercial purpose. Nor do we find any reference to money lenders engaged in this type of activity. The Sahukars mentioned in the Adnya-
153
patra were not ordinary money-lenders but financiers who could enrich the state by helping to establish a prosperous market. The state must be also borrowing from these merchants for its own needs. The petty shop-keepers must have been borrowing money from the landlords or from the Shete-Mahajan who probably might have been their wholesale suppliers as well.

INTEREST

Loans were generally advanced for a short period of six months to one year. This was particularly so, when it was made to an agriculturist or any other person for his maintenance. The debtor had to return the principal with interest immediately after the harvest i.e. by Shimaga or Pratipada i.e. at the end of the year or on the new year's

154

day. When the money was borrowed for litigation purpose, the time limit was more than one year. In one case we find money was borrowed

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for a period of five years.

The rate of interest was fixed for the month. If the loan was given in terms of rupees the rate of interest was mentioned per hundred rupees per month. When it was in terms of hons, the rate was

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expressed in takas or rukas per hon per month.

The rate varied from 4 p.c. to 10 p.c. per month according to the nature of the loan and the status of the party concerned. We find the rate of interest rising upto 25 per cent in one case and in ano-

157

ther case $37\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. For instance an oil man paid $\frac{1}{4}$ of a hon i.e. one Dharan as the rate of interest per hon per month, for 100 hons i.e.

25 hons per hundred per year. A kulkarni paid only 18 rukas per hon per month i.e. $\frac{1}{32}$ part of the hon approximately. This comes to $37\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. per year as the rate of interest.

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Sometimes a loan was taken not for a fixed period. In such cases the rate of interest for the first month seems to have been higher than for the subsequent months, probably with a view to making the debtor keep the loan on for a longer period, with a view to inducing the debtor to keep the loan on for a longer period. It is quite likely that the creditor in the absence of good avenues of investment might be inducing a solvent party to keep the loan for a longer period even at a lower rate.

Ordinarily the shorter the period for which a loan is being made, the lower the rate of interest. But curiously in one paper we find that the rate of interest is higher in the shorter period and lower in the longer period. We find, in one document, the amount

was to be repaid at the rate of 10% interest within one month; failing that the rate would be 4 p.c. per month from the next month perhaps
 159
 for the same reason as explained before. Loans in kind were advanced to the cultivators for a maximum period of six months on condition
 160
 that they should re-pay the amount in double.

Sometimes the rate of interest was so exorbitant that for a
 161
 loan of one hon the interest charged was a quarter of hon. This gives us a rate of 25% per year.

The longer the period, the higher the rate of interest, But we find that a Deshmukh had drawn a long-term loan at 4% per month to
 162
 fight out his case of Patilki and Deshmukhi. Another Deshmukh had
 163
 borrowed 1600 rupees at 5 p.c. per month for a period of five years.

In certain cases, a part of the Mirasi along with the perquisites attached to it was given for interest and the principal was paid by easy instalments. A kulkarni had borrowed 150 hons from a money-lender on the condition that he would pay the principal in six years at the rate of 25 hons per year. For interest of this amount, half of Kulkarni and Jyotishi watan along with some perquisites were permanently conferred on the creditor. He followed this path because even at the lowest rate of 4% per month, he would have had to pay a large amount
 164
 in interest only. In lieu thereof he surrendered half of his rights.

In another case we find, a watandar undertook to part with half of his watan if he was not able to pay the principal in time. He had
 165
 already accepted a higher rate of interest.

If the debt was not paid in the stipulated time, the debtor had to pay some penalty which was laid down in the agreement itself. This penalty was often severe. Sometimes the debtor had to pay double the

amount if he failed to comply with the terms of the agreement.¹⁶⁶

In order to make the debtor repay his loan, failure to pay it in time was equated with the killing of a cow, murder of a brahmin or having illicit relations with one's own mother at Varanasi.¹⁶⁷ Thus repayment of the principal was secured by equating the failure to pay to heinous sins.

When a miras watan was pledged for a loan, the consequences of non-payment in time led to the loss of the watan. There was always the threat of the appropriation of the Miras.¹⁶⁸

V A R A T :-

Another very important aspect of banking functions of the time was the prevalence of varats. Varat means an order upon a treasury to pay.

Shivaji used this instrument for making payments to his officials. In this respect Sabhasad writes, that to the Sarnobats, the majumdars, the karkuns, and men of the personal staff of the king, salary was paid by order on the various treasuries.¹⁶⁹

Elsewhere we find Shivaji granting a varat on the treasuries of Kalyan and Bhivandi to Samuell Austin, an English factor for goods purchased by Shivaji. From his correspondence it appears that it was not easy to collect the money due on a varat from a treasury and that if and when paid the payment might be spread over as many as two to three years.¹⁷⁰ It is likely that when a supplier accepted a varat he knew this fact and might possibly have made an allowance for it in the price charged. The English factory however preferred payment in silver coins to varats which according to them were "uncertain money".¹⁷¹

Naturally this created a class of brokers. We find the East India Company engaging the services of such brokers for realising the money

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mentioned in the varat.

PRICES

The period under review shows three distinct phases of price changes in Maharashtra. The consequences of the great famine of 1629-1630, lingered on for some time. Parmanand, states that one sher of kulith, a millet ordinarily given to cattle was available at a very
173
exorbitant price. Apart from the poetic exaggeration in this statement, one can conclude that the prices had reached unparallel limits during this period of famine. We find that the prices of jowar, the staple food of the people of Maharashtra was as high as one hon or 576 rukas
174
for one paylee i.e. 4 seers during the famine.

It seems that the conditions began to improve after 1631 and there was a steady fall in the prices of foodgrains. For lack of adequate records, it is not possible to state precisely when the conditions of normalcy were restored. It may be said that the second phase in the price-level coincided with the rise of Shivaji to prominence. This second phase continued till 1667 A.D. with minor fluctuations. Our record, of the year 1666 reveals that the price of wheat per four
175
seers was 11 rukas, jowar also 11 rukas and gram 10½ rukas.

A paper dated 1676 quotes some rates of foodgrains fixed before 1667. According to this paper, the people of taraf Pavan Maval were asked to supply best rice, paddy, ghee, oil-gake at certain fixed rates to the Chinchavad math. The price of best rice was five rukas and
176
paddy 2-2/5 rukas only.

The third phase in the price level begins, it can be said, with the introduction of batai settlement by Shivaji in some parts of his
177
kingdom, in the year 1667. We find certain cultivators who had to sell

certain commodities at fixed prices to the Chinchavad math in kind
 complaining about¹⁷⁸ the injustice of burden on them on account of rising
 prices. We find that paddy which was sold at $2\frac{2}{5}$ rukas per paylee¹⁷⁹
 now sold at 6 rukas per payalee in the year 1674.

The people supply^{ing} paddy, rice and other commodities at fixed
 rates expressed their inability to bear the losses caused by the
 difference between the ruling market price and the price fixed long
 back by the State. This paper states that the rise in price was due
 to the batai settlement.

It may be argued here, that as one half of the total produce
 was appropriated by the state, only a small fraction of the produce
 came to the market for sale. This scarcity must have caused a rise
 in the price of food grains. The Government could wait for sometime
 and bring the commodities to the market only when the prices had
 risen up. Shivaji had asked his officials to sell the commodities
 with such a skill that a higher price and great^{er} profit would be
¹⁸⁰
 secured.

It seems that, in the wake of his land settlement, Shivaji
 fixed the prices of various commodities for the individual revenue
 circles. He insisted on revenue officials making sales of perishable
¹⁸¹
 commodities at his prices.

C H A P T E R - X
MONEY, BANKING AND INTEREST

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Rajwade 20 : 187
54. B.I.S.M. Quarterly Year 16 p.50
S.C.S. 11 : 78 and page 87
55. Waqai P.26
56. T & C p.25
57. T & C p.253
58. Tav. Vol. I p.329
Manucci Vol. IV Pp.132-33
Thevenot (T & C) p.136
Careri (T & C) p.253
Dr. Fryer Vol. I p.96
59. Eng. Factories 1656-60 Vol. p.243
60. Dabhade Records Part I edited by Shri.S.N.Joshi document No.6
61. Sabhasad p.96
62. Dabhade Records Part I : Introduction p.3
63. J.N.S.I. Vol. V part I (June 1943) p.91
64. Ibid
65. J.N.S.I. Vol. XIII part I, June, 1951. Shri.Khare's article.
66. Gold and silver coins issued from Golconda were to bear the
Mughal coin legends according to a treaty of 1636.
J.N.S.I. Vol. V part I (1943) p.85
67. Sabhasad p.96
68. T & C p.26
Fryer Vol. II p.125-26
69. Hodiwala : Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics Pp.140-43
70. Waqai p.24

71. T.T. P.-25

Compare Moreland : From Akbar to Aurangzeb Appendix D. P-329

72. Waqai P.41 and 50

73. Sabhasad p.97

74. Dr.Balkrishna Vol. IV P.152

75. Rise of Bombay p.109

76. T & C Pp.2,26

77. Tav.Vol.I Pp.23,414

78. Fryer Vol.I p.145

79. T & C p.253

80. Abbe Carre Vol. I Pp.100,103,105

81. Hodiwala p.125

82. T & C p.26

83. Fryer Vol.II Pp.125-26

84. Tav.Vol. 1 p.25,414

85. Eng.Factories 1655-60 Vol, p.243

86. Sabhasad p.97

87. ERS II p.60,81,117

88. S.C.S. 4 : 677,737

89. Eng.Factories 1655-60 Vol p.243

90. S.C.S. 5 : 876

91. Linschoten I p.242; Pyrard II p.68,239;Mandelslo p.75

92. JASB (1910), Pp.686-89

93. Mandelslo p.75; Dr.Fryer II p.129

94. Dr.V.T.Gune, Director of Goa Archives has kindly prepared a note on Laris as mentioned in the Portuguese literature. A relevant portion from the same note has been reproduced below:-

F.N.Xavier in Dicionario Historico-Explicativo de alguns nomes proprios, e allusoes, que se contem na viagem de duas mil legoas. (1848), as quoted by P.Pissurlencar in Regimento das Fortalezas, Bastora(Goa), page 33, footnote says:

" Tanga-branca is an imaginary coin, its value in the Islands of Goa is 96 reis: In Salcete and Bardes 1/2 xerafim, (150 reis). It is divided into 4 Barganis, and each of them in 24 leais, all together 96 leais. This coin was being used in the accounts of quit rents. Besides the tanga branca there existed also another imaginary coin, by name Larin which had the value of 100 reis or 0:1:40.

II

Teixeira de Arago in Historia das Moedas Cunhadas em nome dos Reis etc. page 209:

" O senado, em sessao de 17 de Julho do mesmo ano de 1624, depois de ouvir as pessoas mais competentes, fez o seguinte registo do valor das moedas de ouro e prata que circulavam em Goa :

(Translation)

The Senate (of Municipal Corporation of Goa City), in its meeting of 17th July of the same year of 1624, after hearing the most competent persons, made the following registration of value of the gold and silver coins which were current in Goa :

Larins of Persia	 2 tangas
Larins	2½ "

From the "Livro dos Pegos da India" (published by Royal Science Lisbon under the direction of Rodrigo Jose de Lima Felner, Lisbon, 1868, page 37) :

" Cauryns correm pela terra : 80 cauryns he hum pone; destes pones 48 vallem hum larym, e as vezes mais e menos";

(Translation)

" Cauris are in use in this land (porto Pequeno de Bengala = Small Port of Bengal) : 80 caurins is one pone; 48 of these pones are worth one lari, and some time more or less".

Extracts from Historia das Moedas by Teixeira de Arago (translated):

1 - "5 Larins of silver would be equal to 1 gold pardau of 6 tangas" page 148. (pardau)

2 - At the same time (year 1608) the tanga larim was current in Daman for 90 reais while the tanga of Goa was priced at 60 reais - page 192.

95. S.C.S. 5 : 876
96. Sabhasad p.97
97. Dr.Balkrishna Vol.IV p.151
98. SP III : 2503
Wagai p.137
99. BISM 6th Sam.Vritta Pp.135-36
100. Dr. Balkrishna Vol. IV p.151 See also S.P.III : 2563
101. B.I.S.M. Q. XI-3 V.G.Kale's article
102. Raj.20 : 58
S.C.S. 7 : 45
103. V.G.Kale's article referred to above.
104. Raj. 20 : 58
105. R.V.K. 2 : 41
106. S.C.S. 8 : 84 P.100
107. P.D. 31 : 19
108. S.C.S. 2 : 134
109. S.C.S. 7 : 45
110. P.D. 31 : 21
111. E.R.S.I p-~~231~~ 237
112. E.R.S. I p-376
113. E.R.S. I : 376
114. Dr.Fryer Vol.I p.206
115. J.B.R.A.S Vol. 20 p.109 Abbot's article
116. E.R.S. II : p.60
117. Abbot's article referred to above Pp.123-124
118. B.I.S.M. 10 : 1 R.H.Gadgil's article p.28
119. Ibid
120. S.C.S. 11 : 78
121. S.C.S. II p.87 - notes.

122. Fryer p.459
123. E.R.S. II p.24
124. T & C p.136
125. Tav. Vol. 1, Pp.22-23
126. T & C p.253
127. M.G.Ranade p.218
128. Rajawade Vol. 21 : 6
129. S.C.S. 4 : 737
130. S.C.S. 2 : 94 Rajwade 20 : 127
131. Rajawade 15 : 272
132. Ibid
133. BISM 10 : 1 R.H.Gadgil p.28
134. S.C.S. 2 : 94
Rajwade 20 : 127
135. Rajawade 15 : 272
136. AFS I : 28
137. E.R.S.I. Letters 423, 429, 481, 484.
T & C p.270
138. T.T. Pp.29-20 Refer to Ranade's Article as well (mentioned earlier) p.218
139. B.I.S.M. 6th Sam.Vritta p.135-36
140. J.B.R.A.S. Vol. 20 Abbot p.113
141. S.C.S. I : 51
" II : 132
" III : 583
P.D. 31 : 48
Rajwade 20 : 19
142. Raj 15 : 89
143. S.C.S. 4 : 722 - P.D. 31 : 48
144. S.C.S. I : 51
145. Tukaram : 3398

Deleted

146. S.C.S. II 134
" I 51
147. S.C.S. II : 132
148. Rajawade 20 : 15,19
149. PD 31 : 48
S.C.S. 2 : 132
" 4 : 722
150. Rajawade 15 : 89
151. Rajawade 20 : 15,19
152. S.C.S. 5 : 951
153. Adnyapatra Ch.5
154. Rajawade 15 : 89
155. P.D. 31 : 48
156. Rajawade 20 : 16
S.C.S. 2 : 134
157. Compare S.C.S. 2 : 134 and S.C.S. 2 : 352
158. S.C.S. 2 : 134
159. Rajawade 20 : 15
160. Rajawade 15 : 89
S.P. I 482
161. S.C.S. 2 : 352
Compare Moreland from Akbar to Aurangzeb p-62
162. S.C.S. 4 : 722
163. P.D. 31 : 48
164. S.C.S. 2 : 132
165. S.C.S. 2 : 134
166. Rajawade 15 : 89
167. P.D. 31 : 48
168. S.C.S. 4 : 722
169. Sabhasad P.24
170. E.R.S. II p.114
171. E.R.S. II p.99

172. E.R.S.I. p.48
173. Shivabharat Canto 8 : 54
174. S.P. I : 329
175. Shivacharitra Pradip - P.109
176. S.C.S. IV - 683 pages 9-19
177. Jedhe Shavakevali Shivacharitra Pradip P.24
178. S.C.S. IV : 683 - pages 9-19
179. P.D. 31 : 32
180. S.C.S. 9 : 55
181. Rajawade Vol. 8 : 26

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ABBREVIATIONS

A LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.F.S.	Aitihasik Pharsi Sahitya
ALTEKAR	Village Communities
BADEN POWELL	Land Tenures in British India
BALKRISHNA	Shivaji, the Great Vol.IV
B.I.S.M.	Bharat Itihas Samghodhak Mandal
B.T.	Bernier's Travels
E.R.S.	English Records on Shivaji Vol. and page
ELPHINSTONE	Official Writings
GOODINE	Report on the Deccan Village Communities
GRANT DUFF	History of the Marathas Vol.I
JERVIS	Weights, measures and coins of India
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P.D.	Selections from Peshwa Daftar. Jamav Section 31
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R.V.K.	Rajyavyavaharkosh
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SARKAR	Shivaji and his Times (4th Edn.)
S.C.S.	Shiva Charitra Sahitya Vol. and letter Number
SEN S.N.	Admn. System of the Marathas
S.P.	Shivakalin Patra Sar Sangrah
T. & C.	Thevenot and Careri
T.T.	Tavernier's Travels
WAQAI	Selected Waqai of the Deccan Edited by Dr.Hussain
WILSON	Glossary

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GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY

Abbāsi	A Persian Silver coin
Abhisheka	Ceremonial ablution
Adka	A small copper coin worth 1/2 Ruka
Agrahar	A village or a part of one occupied by Brahmins and held either rent free under special grants or at a reduced rate of assignment. Sarva Agrahar is free from all taxes.
Ain	It implies either the original fixed or standard assessment of the revenue, or the land bearing such assessments.
Alutā	A common term for certain village officers secondary to the Baluta
Amātya	One of the eight principal officers of the Maratha State; a counsellor; an auditor
Ashtaputal	Embroidered cloth
Asrafis(Asfardya)	An Indian word to signify a Portuguese Xerafin; originally a gold coin, but the Portuguese adopted this word and used it for a silver coin
Āval	First rate land
Āvat	A type of land where the stalk of the crop is replanted
Bāgāyat or bāgāit	Irrigated land. It is assessed at a higher rate according to the value of the produce
Bāje pati	Other taxes
Bājubanda	A kind of bracelet, Armlet
Bakarapati	Bakara means goat, a cess in kind collected by the military
Bakhar	A chronicle
Balutā	The share of crops in kind or its equivalent in money recoverable by a village servant from village lands. Balutedar one who is entitled to such a share. It is usually prefixed with Bara (i.e. twelve)
Banjārā	A grain and cattle merchant; moving along with a numerous party of the same calling to different markets.

Bārgujar	Creepers
Bazaar	Market
Begār	A forced labourer
Belekati, Bilikati or Belkati	Bel or Bail means open ground, and Kati or Katti means a raised or built up place; A tax on merchants using this place.
Bheti	Presents to a superior
Bhusā	All kind of grain in husk
Bhut Faroshi	An image seller
Bidwai	Leader
Bighā	A measure of land. The Maratha Bigha is called twenty Pands or 400 square kathis or rods; each five cubits and five hand-breadths.
Bekar-taka	Boka means a basket, used for crossing a river. Bokartaka seems to be fees charged for such services.
Budruk	Greater or upper, major (village)
Bugrooks, Budgrooks or Bazaruccos	A low type of coin. It was coined at different times in copper, tin, lead and tutenague
Byāl	A denomination of Duval. 2 Byals is equal to one Duval
Chakram	A small gold coin; it contains ten falams or fanams
Chalani & Khazāna	Chalani is the current coin at any given time; Khazana means the old debased and worn out money; literally it means a treasure or hoard
Chalati kathi	A leaping(measuring) rod
Chandrarekhā	Crescent shaped ornament
Chatrapati	A copper coin weighing $3/4$ tola. Also known as Shivarai
Chaval	$1/2$ Dharan or $1/8$ Hon a denomination of hon
Chaugulā	An assistant of the Patil
Chavar	A measure of land, 120 sq.bighas.

Chauth	A tribute exacted from the weak ruler by the strong one
Chital or Jital	A copper coin worth about ¹² rukas. Wilson makes it equivalent to modern pice
Chtinis	Correspondence clerk or secretary
Cholikāṅkaṇ	A rent-free land i.e. inam granted to a woman
Chugi	A tax in kind
Dāṅgi	Assistant of a Ghatpande
Dasarāpati	A sort of contribution collected from the villagers to celebrate the Dasara i.e. the tenth of the lighter ^{part} of the month of Asvin. Dasara(bakare (goat) and Dasara Kombade (a fowl) perhaps collected by the hereditary officers on the Dasara Day.
Dasturi	Discount
Dehāṅgi Inām	Assignments to village artificers and servants
Dehe	A village
Deshak	Permanent residents of the village; performing various administrative religious or ministerial services for the village
Deshmukh	An hereditary officer, the head of the Pargana
Deshpānde or Deshkulkarni	An hereditary officer, the Pargana accountant or Record keeper
Devasthān Inām	Free lands attached to temples and mosques
Dhangar	Shepherd, herdsman, weaver in wool
Dhānyatikri	A sales tax on grains
Dharan	1/4 hon or 1/2 Pratap
Dhenri	Jewelled shield for the ear
Diwān Nisbat Inām	A mortgage, or grant of land made by the villagers to liquidate a debt incurred by the village for public expenses.
Doom	Second rate land

Dudhabhāt Inam	Rent free land assigned to a daughter(or a woman) for her maintenance
Duval	1/2 Chaval, denomination of a hon. 1/16 Hon
Erale	A screen or covering used mainly in rainy weather
Fanam	A gold coin containing a large proportion of alloy; it was later on coined of silver or base gold. According to Rajyavyavaharkosh Phalam or Fanam means Pana, a silver coin
Firman	An order, a command
Gadchāvani	Gad means fort, and Chavani means camp. It means temporary erections for troops on a hill fort.
Gaditambāku	Gadi means monopoly; Gadi Tambakhu means perhaps a licence fee for selling tobacco. Gadi means the village office (chavadi); Gadi Tambhakhu may be therefore an exaction of tobacco for the use of the village office.
Garimehasul	Illegal exaction; a revenue from oppressive taxation, or any unjust sources.
Gajpati	Gaj means an elephant, therefore a tax on elephant. Gaj may be a corruption of the Persian word 'guz', a measuring rod, a levy to cover the cost of the new measuring rod.
Gaṭā	Corn or grain; payment in kind
Galbat	A ship; any vessel of which the masts are fixed
Gandhāni	Spices
Gandhi	A vendor of perfumes; a perfumer
Gārudi	A snake-charmer; tumbler
Ghartaka	A house tax
Ghāt	Mountain pass; landing place
Ghāti	A variety of cloth from Ghat territories
Ghātmathā	Table land; the crest or ridge of a mountain or hill
Ghugari	Grain, which after the ripening of the crop, the cultivators present to the kamavisdar, patil, etc.

Goakhandi	A religious cess collected from the villagers and paid to a priest
Godhadi	A tattered or patched garment
Gorab	A kind of sailing vessel
Gotsabha	A body of watandars, Mirasdars, Uparis and Rayas assembled to consider local problems
Grama	A village; grama-gopa, a village head-man
Gunhegari	A fine imposed by the Court on a culprit
Gurav	A temple priest
Hakka	Right, title; the share or portion due of the revenue or of the crops, of the hereditary district or village officers.
Halipati	The current taxes
Harki	Money paid to the Court in token of his gratification by the successful suitor or litigant
Hasil	Annual results from taxes and duties, revenue
Havaldar	One holding any office or trust; principal officer in a fort; sometimes a subordinate revenue officer etc.
Hazari	An army official in cavalry or infantry; a commander of a thousand.
Hejib	An envoy; Hejibpati was ^a tax imposed to meet the expenses of an envoy.
Hon	Hon is a Hindusthani corruption of Honnu a Kannad word. A gold coin popular in the South Padshahi hon, Sivarai, Achyutrai Nishani hon; A hon struck, perhaps by a private person under a licence. Nishani means a sign. Padshahi hon or Muhammadshahi hon : A Bijapur coin
Humayun pati or Kar-i-Humayuni	A tax on the occasion of royal birthdays
Hurda	A portion of Jwar in the ear or sheaf - a perquisite of the village servants
Hugurbheti	Presents to a superior

Huzurdār	A clerk appointed by the state.
Id-Subharāti or Bakrid	A tax in kind paid by oilmen for illumination on the occasion of Id.
Inam	A grant of land held rent-free; a grant in perpetuity. Inamati - of or belonging to an inam land Inam-Mawali - Lands granted to the village artificers and servants particularly in Mawal areas Inam-pasodi - Inam of the Patil (Pasodi means maintenance)
Ināmpati	An occasional tax imposed on inamdars in the times of exigency
Ismi	In the name of a person; opposite to Rasmi i.e. according to practice
Istāwā	The land tax or rent levied at progressively increasing rates, until it reaches the full or normal rate of tax.
Jābata	A law, a regulation, a statute, a describing statement
Jāgir	An assignment of the land revenue of a certain number of villages or or a sub-division
Jākāt	Revenue from octroi and custom duties
Jamābandi	A village or district rent-roll; settlement of the amount of revenue assessed upon an estate, a village or district
Jamādar	A treasurer or a petty officer
Jamāv	Collection
Jamenis	The officer that inspects lands, soil, crops etc. and fixes the assessment.
Jangam	A Lingayat priest
Jirāyat	Un-irrigated land; opposite to Bagait
Jumledār	An accounts officer in the army
Kaas	Rank
Kabulāt pati	A tax on agreements or transaction deeds
Kad	A sort of silk cloth for dhoti

Kadba	Fodder (a perquisite)
Kalāl	A wine-dealer; a distiller
Kālī	Soil; used to denote land revenue
Karuk	Artisans
Kalami	Kalam means pen; Kalami i.e. reduced to writing; opposite to Kadmi (i.e. traditions)
Kamāvis	The business of collecting the revenues of the state.
Kānujābtā	A code, a compendium of the regulations established in any province
Kāpadpati	A tax on clothiers
Kāpur paik	Torch bearer
Kārbhārī	Manager
Kar-imarati	A tax on building operation
Kārkhanā	A royal establishment
Karjachipati	A forced loan
Karjakatbā, Karjarokhā, Karja- Patra, Karjakhat	An agreement regarding loan
Kārsāi	An impost in kind levied for the services of a fort from villages dependent. Also an impost in kind for the use of village officer on tour
Kāruk	Artisans
Karyāt	A mahal composed of ten or twelve villages
Kasabā	The chief town of a Taraf or a pargana the old portion of a town; the town having a mart
Kāsar	A dealer in bangles
Kāthī	A land-measuring rod
Katni	Commodities rubbed and chafed
Katūbān	A grant or tenure in perpetuity of barren or fallow lands for a fixed annual sum
Kaul	A writing of assurance, agreement or engagement as granted by Government

Khalisati	Lands managed by the state; the land revenue of which was paid into the King's treasury
Khambayati	A variety of cloth from Khambayat, usually high quality
Khandadiya	A coolie carrying load on his shoulders
Khandani	An exaction on any pretext whatever
Khara or Kharaū	A variety of coarse cloth, a low priced, red cotton cloth
Kharchapati	Any contingent tax to meet the expenses of the State officials or feeding the gosavis, a tax for defraying occasional public charges
Khari	A patch of earth on a rocky substratum, but cultivable for rice
Kharip	The autumnal harvest
Kharpāt	Salt-land, land containing many salt deposits
Khavās taka	A tax on the nobility
Khedeg	A village
Khum	Merchants
Khurda	A lower or smaller portion of the village, scrap
Khutree	Silk weaver
Kinkhab	Silk-stuff interwoven with gold or silver thread, brocade
Kitabat	A fee for writing documents
Kochaki	The peak or central prominence of a turban
Kodi	A unit of twenty articles
Kombadipati	An exaction of fowls or a fowl; black-mailing or a sort of forced payment
Konti	Name of a caste, a branch of the pure vaishya caste; manufacturer of bamboo articles
Kos	A measure of distance
Koshti	Spinners and weavers

Kotwal	The chief police officer of a city or town; a superintendent of the market
	Kotwali - a levy to meet the expenses of the office of Kotwal
Kulkaṇu	According to the laws
Kunbi, Mujeri, Raya or Kulwadi	The word Kunbi is derived from Kulambi or Kutumbika meaning thereby a husbandman; a peasant
Lājima	Perquisites
Lari	A silver coin of Persian origin. It was made of silver wire, doubled somewhat like a hairpin with inscriptions stamped on the prongs.
Magatakā	A tax on weavers
Mahāl	A subdivision of a Pargana; any revenue- paying area.
Mahājan	An hereditary officer in a Kasaba; assistant of a shetya
Mahajar	A general application or representation, a statement laid before a judge, a public attestation or a document attested by a number of persons professing to be cognisant of the circumstances of the case, and submitted with their signatures to the Court
Mahajarnāma	A written statement of a suit or case and of the award upon it
Mahār	A village messenger; a balutedar
Mahāmudi	A kind of cotton stuff
Mahasul	Public revenue
Mahumudi	Originally a Persian silver coin, later on minted by the Gujrat kings
Majalis or Majālis	A court or assembly in general
Majara	A village suburb
Majura	Octroi duty
Mali or Malav	The soil in the valleys belonging to the alluvial type

Mamla	A taluka
Mandil	A head-dress
Manpān	The honours and presents which are rendered to a person at marriages and other festive occasions; the rights and perquisites of the village hereditary officers
Math	A monastery
Mejwanipati	A levy to meet the expenditure incurred on feeding either the state officials or the spiritual leaders on certain occasions.
Mestaka	A book of directions and patterns for writing or a book generally of rules and instructions in business
Metkari	Guard in the ghats (mountain passes)
Miras	Inheritance, inherited property or right; hereditary proprietorship
Mirasdar	A peasant proprietor; the holder of hereditary lands or offices in a village
Miraspati or Mirasdarpati	It was levied on the Mirasdars; Mirasdar was a peasant proprietor
Mire	A port town
Modvi	A peon of the Ghatpande
Mohar	A gold coin used for making presents, popularly known as gold rupee
Mohatarfa	A tax on the shopkeepers and artificers of a village; taxes on professions
Mohimpati, Jangapati or Mohim karcha	A levy to meet the expenses of war
Mokadam	The village headman, patil
Momin	Muslim weavers
Motasthal	Land irrigated by well water
Mouja	A village
Mujavar	A sweeper of a mosque

Mujumdar	A kind of auditor, keeps accounts of all receipts and disbursements
Mukasa	A village or land assigned to an individual either rent-free or at low quitrent, on condition of service, or a village held khas by the State, the revenue being paid to the government direct, or the share of the government in a village or in the revenue paid by it
Muḥlana	A muhammadian jurist or theologian; schoolmaster, one of the twelve Balutedars
Mulansara	A tax collected for paying the Muḥlana
Mungipatan	Embroidered cloth
Musahira	Salary or stipend
Musdar	A kind of silk cloth
Mutalik	A deputy with an authority to use the seal of his principal
Nadi tokara	Tokara means a small boat used for crossing a river. A transit duty
Nafar taka	Nafar means a person usually a low menial servant. It is perhaps a tax on the earnings of the menial servants
Nagbini	A flower worn on the nose
Nāik	The head man of a body
Nakdi or Nakta	In cash, opposite to Jinsi i.e. in kind
Nāne	Coins, a licence fee for minting coins
Navaratra	A Hindu festival celebrated for nine days in the lighter half of the month of Āsvin, and is followed by Dasara
Nayakwādi	A revenue sepoy allotted to a district or village
Nazir or Sir Nazirpati	Nazir or Sir Nazir was a judicial officer. A levy to meet the judicial expenses
Nazar pahāni	Appraisal
Nazarāna or Nazarbheti	A present to a superior

Nikalū	Export Duty
Niputrika	Escheat
Ozekari	A coolie
Pādewār	A Mahar
Pādi	Part or suburb of a village
Pācē(n)	A fourth or a quarter
Paga	A body of horse under one commander
Pagoda	Pagoda literally means a temple. A term used by the Europeans for a gold coin(Hon). It was a small and circular coin stamped only on one side with the symbol of some deity; a small thick piece of gold of the size of nail of the little finger
Pāik	A footman, an armed attendant
Paiposhi	A pair of shoes, tax on shoe-makers
Paisa	A copper coin weighing one tola
Paisalū	Import duty
Pakhavāji	A drum beater
Pālaki	A spoonful of oil exacted from an oil-man
Panch-hazari	A commander of five thousand
Pānd	A land measure; 20 sq.kathis or rods; or the 20th of a bigha
Pāndhari	The entire village community
Pānsare	Patki's assistant, weighing was his main job
Pārasnis	A Persian secretary
Parganā	A large division of a country with one or more towns at the head; a district
Pārkhaū	A fee for examining precious metals
Pāgodi	A garment
Pātdam	A tax on re-marriage permitted among the peasantry

Pātasthal	Garden lands watered by a channel turned off from a brook or rivulet
Pataṁ	A kind of cloth
Pathakdar	An officer of a chauki (customs station)
Patki	A customs officer
Patwegār	A maker of fringe, tassels, netted work etc. of silk
Pāvekari	A player of flute
Peshkashi	Presents to a superior
Peshwā	Prime Minister
Pestarpati	Taxes which would be levied in the future
Petha or Peth	A trading centre
Phadnis	A public officer - the keeper of the registers etc.
Pharmaish or Pharmash	Analogous to Vetbegari
Phaski	A handful of grain exacted from each load of grain; a toll (as of vegetables, grain, etc.) exacted by official personages from the vendors
Phatu	A cloak
Phuroi	A fine imposed and collected by the Kamavisdiar which was not supported by law; an illegal exaction
Pitambar	A silk cloth for Dhoti
Potdar	An officer whose duty was to assay all money paid into the treasury
Potnis	Treasurer or cash-keeper
Pradhan	A minister
Prant	A large division of a country, a province
Prasad	Anything (a fruit, flower, rice or sweets) given by an idol; a Guru or a saint
Pratap	1/2 Hon; a denomination of Hon

Purtakali	A cloth from the Portuguese area; an embroidered cloth
Putli	A gold coin worth Rs.4, used as an ornament
Rabi	The monsoon crop, the vernal crop
Rajbhag	Land revenue, share of the King
Ruka and Tiruka	Ruka is a copper coin weighing $1\frac{1}{4}$ total; Tiruka means three ru-as, or a coin weighing $3\frac{3}{4}$ tola. Tiruka is referred to as Paisa
Sabnis	A head-clerk. His business was to pay the shibandis and public servants of a district or charge
Sachiv	A minister of state, Superintendent
Sadilwarpati	Extra assessment above the public revenue levied formerly by the revenue officers on the pretext of defraying local district charges
Sakhalad	A broad cloth
Salai	The quantity viz., a bundle, a single unit fruit, a log etc. (as of Kadba, hay, fruits, fire wood) taken out from the mass in counting or weighing it and set aside on the completion of the work; the total number of measurements and the aggregate quantity measured; a marker
Sali	Weavers
Samat	Used such as Taraf, a division of a country comprising a varying number of villages
Sanad	A document conveying to an individual emoluments, titles, privileges, offices or the government rights to revenue from land etc. under the seal of the ruling authority. Sanadi-inam: A grant emanating from the ruling power at the time of the grant, free from all government exactions in perpetuity and validified by sanad.
Sarafi or Saraftaka	A tax on goldsmiths
Saranjam	Villages granted for maintaining an army
Sarnobat	The master of the Nobat, bandmaster

Seem	A third type of land
Selbel or Sail Bail	A duty on transport cattle
Senapati	The commander of an army
Sevadharā	Seva or Sheva means a portion deducted from fruits, flowers or vegetables brought to the market as a toll or tax; and Dhar means a portion of ghee or oil
Shela-pagote	Scarf and Turban (A mark of honour)
Shenavi	A Saragwat Brahmin
Sherni	See Harki
Shet	Sweet land; black soil
Shetya	An hereditary officer in a mart or commercial town
Shirpav	A turban bestowed by a Raja or grandee as a mark of favour
Sikkepati or Sikke Badshahi	Sikka means the royal signet. Sikkepati or Sikke Badshahi means the fee charged for affixing the royal signet
Silhedār	A horse soldier who provides his own horse
Singoti	Horned-beasts. A duty on such animals
Sinhāsanpati or Takhta pati	It was levied at the time of Coronation
Sinhasthapati	The position of the planet Jupiter in the sign of Leo; it comes once in twelve years. Sinhasthapati is a tax on pilgrims visiting holy places during this period
Sardeshmukhi	An exaction of ten per cent imposed by Shivaji or the Marathas upon the whole revenue of the Subha.
Sirdeshmukh	The head-Deshmukh
Sirdeshpānde	The head-Deshpande
Sirkarkun	A minister; the head of a prant
Sirpech	An aigrette of jewels worn in the turban

Sis-phul	Crest-flower
Siti	A cloth variety, usually white cloth
Sivarai	A copper coin equal to six rukas; also called Chhatrapati. Sasagani or Sajgani, is perhaps the same as Shivarai
Subha	A smaller division comprising from five to eight tarafs Subhedar: The Chief of the Subha Sir Subhedar : A public officer. He stands between the Mamlatdars and government
Tafta	Coloured silk cloth
Tak	A weight equal to about a grain
Taka	A silver (?) coin; equal to forty eight rukas. Used as a land measure also.
Talkari	A player on the cymbals
Tambat	Manufacturer of copper articles
Imaboli	Betel nuts and leaves vendor
Tandel	Boatswain
Tapa	A small tract or division of country, smaller than a pargana, but comprising one or more villages
Taraf	A small division of a country composed of a varying number of villages
Teji or Taji	A horse of the Arab breed
Telpati	A tax on oil presser
Thalbharit	Customs levied on articles despatched from the village of town in which they are produced
Thalkari	A landed proprietor, the owner of the land
Thalmod	Customs levied on articles brought into a town or village for sale
Thalgada	The record of the fields belonging to a village
Thana, Thanapati	A station; a military post, a police station. Thanapati means a cess collected to cover the expenses of the Thana

Thikanāṭi Land	Land given to certain people for a definite service without remuneration
Toṣa	A present
Toraḷ	Large thick ring for the wrist
Toraṇbhṭi	Toraṇ means arches and Bhṭi means a visit, probably a royal visit
Toufer	An excess above an intended amount of assignment
Tuṭpati, Nuksanpati or Rākhanuksan pati	Taxes to cover the deficits
Ubhā Mārga	A Highway; a direct, open, public road
Uluṅa or Ulphāpati	Shida(provisions) for government officers collected from the villagers
Upari	A tenant cultivator; A tenant or farmer having no right of occupancy as opposite to Thalkari- a landed proprietor; a tenant at will
Uruspati	Urus means offerings at the shrine of Muhammedan saint. Uruspati is a religious cess.
Vaṅgi	A sample, a portion of grain or goods exacted by the hereditary officers of a village
Vanatakā	A tax on animals
Varat	An assignment or order upon the revenues or a treasury
Varhād takā or Lagna takā	A tax on marriage procession or marriage
Varkas	Barren land Malvarkas - more level land Dongari varkas + steeper slopes of the hills
Veṇakāṭi	A player on Veena or lute
Veth-begāri	Forced labour, it was an indirect and invisible tax; a tax in kind or services
Vis	Is a denomination of Byal. Two Vis is equal to one Byal
Wadi	A suburb of a village
Wāwala	Sample exacted by government and hereditary officers of the crops and fruits which first ripen.

Waqai	A news letter
Wagnavis	Mantri, the Chronicler
Warshāsan	An annual allowance, a salary or pension paid either by the public treasury, or by assignments on the revenues of a village or district and entered upon the village expenses, usually granted for religious services.
Watan	Any hereditary estate, office, privilege, property or means of subsistence, a patrimony.
Watandar	One who has a watan
Yadi	A memorandum, a list, roll
Yajitpatra	The writing furnished by the party in suit, admitting his failure
Yardi	The hereditary assistant of the Deshpande
Zādzāдора	General term for trees and bushes; implying collectively all.